Wayne, Indiana, and when his body was laid in its last resting place, thousands of members of the Missouri Synod and of sister Synods from all parts of the country formed the greatest funeral procession that St. Louis had witnessed to that day.

PROF. AUGUSTUS L. GRAEBNER.

Walther, Charles Frederick, was born in the city of Culmbach, Germany, April 28, 1823. His parents were Christian and Wilhelmina (Merkel) Walther, and his father, who was a tinner by trade, immigrated to the United States in 1844 and established his home in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he died the same year. The son was educated in the Latin school and gymnasium of his native town and served an apprenticeship to the business of merchandising. He preceded his parents to this country, and in 1839 found a temporary home in Louisville, Kentucky, where he entered the employ of William Weiman, a wholesale and retail grocer of that city. He was connected with this house until 1844, when he engaged in the wholesale and retail grocery business on his own account, conducting it successfully for three years. During the years 1847 and 1848, he pursued a course of study in the languages and higher mathematics in South Hanover College, near Madison, Indiana, and in 1849 engaged in school teaching, becoming principal of C. F. Walther's High School, of St. Louis. This position he retained until and including the year 1855. Meantime, he had become actively identified with politics and public affairs in the city, and in 1856 he was elected Justice of the Peace in the Seventh Ward, an office which he held until 1860. In 1857, he was elected member of the City Council as a representative of the same ward, and ably championed its interests in the city legislature, at the same time contributing his full share to promote the best interests of the city at large. His official connection with the courts as a local magistrate caused him to become interested in the study of the law, and he pursued a thorough course of reading under the preceptorship of Judge Krum and Christian Krippen during the years 1860 and 1861. The issues of the Civil War then diverted his attention from other pursuits, and early in 1862 he was commissioned Captain of Company I, of the Eighth Regiment of Missouri Militia, but he was soon afterward detached from his company to serve as an enrolling officer and on commissary duty. In 1863, he was transferred to the Ninth Regiment of Missouri Militia, in which he served until the close of the Civil War, retiring from that service with an honorable record as an officer and soldier. From 1866 to 1878, he again served as a Justice of the Peace in St. Louis, and for twenty-eight years held the office of notary public. In the exercise of his judicial office, he evinced wise discretion and ripe judgment, and no local magistrate of his day was more popular with all classes of people than Judge Walther. In later years, he has been engrossed in business pursuits, and from 1885 to 1893 he was a director of the German-American Bank. During that time, he also, in connection with August Gehner and William Nolker, reorganized the German Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of St. Louis, of which he became president 1888, and which was a conspicuously successful enterprise under his management. Having a warm feeling of comradeship for the men with whom he served during the Civil War, he has long been a member of Hassendeubel Post No. 13, of the Grand Army of the Republic. Politically, he is identified with the Republican party and he is a member of the Methodist Church. He married in 1866, Mrs. Caroline Bauman, of St. Louis. Their children are Charles F., Blumber, and Irwin L. Walther, Mrs. William W. Cory, and Mrs. E. W. Eicks.

Wampum. See "Currency of the Indians."

War between the States — Federal History. — In order to speak understandingly of the condition of St. Louis during the Civil War, it becomes necessary to refer to some events which preceded the condition of armed hostilities within the borders of the State.

Prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln, on the 4th of March, 1861, seven of the Southern States had seceded from the Union, formed new constitutions, elected officers, organized armies and [illegible] established independent governments within their territorial limits, ho[illegible] thority of the United States Government, and had formed a Southern [illegible]

with a seat of government located at Montgomery, Ala., on the 7th of February, 1861. The leading, active politicians of Missouri, its chief executive officers, a majority of the members of the Legislature, its United States Senators, favored the movement. Gov. Jackson, in his inaugural message to the Legislature, said: "The destiny of the slave-holding States is one and the same," and Missouri, he thought, would "best consult her own interest, and the interest of the whole country, by timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slave-holding States, in whose wrongs she participates and with whose institutions and people she sympathizes."

Upon the meeting of the Legislature in Jefferson City, January 2, 1861, Mr. Russell, as commissioner from the State of Mississippi, appeared before the joint meeting of the two houses for the purpose of inducing Missouri to join Mississippi in seceding from the union and was received with distinguished honors. On the 9th of January Vest, of Cooper, introduced in the House the convention bill, which, following the course adopted by the seceded states, was intended to take the State out of the Union, coupled with a provision, however, which declared that any act of the convention proposing to change or dissolve the political relations of Missouri to the Government of the United States, or any other State, should not be valid until a majority of the qualified voters of the State, voting upon the question, should ratify the same. The members of this convention were elected on the 18th of February, 1861.

The object of this convention, as expressed in the action of the Legislature providing for its existence, was: "To consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States, the people and government of the different States and the government and people of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded."

In the election of delegates the question of union or secession was the prominent, we may say the only, issue, and the union cause prevailed by a large majority. The convention assembled at Jefferson City on the 28th of February, 1861, and after two days' session reassembled at St. Louis on the 4th of March, the day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. There was no building at Jefferson City at all appropriate for holding the convention, the Legislature was in session, and the capitol occupied, and on that account and for other good and sufficient reasons, and not "because the loyal atmosphere of St. Louis was preferable to that of the capital," the convention was moved to St. Louis. It was on that day that Luther J. Glenn appeared before the convention as a commissioner from the State of Georgia, and urged that Missouri should follow the course that Georgia had resolved to take, and unite with other Southern States in forming a Southern confederacy. Georgia had not then actually seceded, but had chosen a convention, whose members were evidently intending to take that step, as was done afterward.

Previous to this, Mr. Glenn had visited the Legislature at Jefferson City. On the 1st of March he was serenaded at the Virginia Hotel. When called upon he appeared on the balcony, escorted by Gov. Jackson, and was introduced by the Governor as "the Hon. Mr. Glenn, from our Southern sister State of Georgia, with whose interests Missouri is eternally indentified." Glenn made a long speech in favor of secession, and insisted that Missouri was in honor bound to sustain the seceded States. Jackson followed and substantially sustained the position taken by Glenn, asserting that the day of compromise was past. There was a large crowd, and both speeches were enthusiastically applauded.

When the convention assembled at Mercantile Library hall in St. Louis a secession flag was floating from the old Berthold mansion at the corner of Fifth and Pine Streets. Those present will never forget and perhaps it would not be out of place to quote an eloquent passage from the speech of Uriel Wright, then one of the ablest lawyers in Missouri, and a member of the convention, made on the 18th of March, 1861, in Mercantile Library hall, in reference to that flag:

"I looked one day towards the southern skies, towards that sunny land which constitutes our southern possessions, and I saw a banner floating in the air. I am not skilled in heraldry, and I may mistake the sign, but as it first rose it presented a single

dim and melancholy star, set in a field of blue, representing, I suppose, a lost pleiad wandering through space. A young moon, a crescent moon, was by her side, appropriately plucked from our planetary system, as the most changeable of all representatives known to it, a satellite to signify the vicissitudes which must attend its career. The sad spectacle wound up with the appropriate emblem of the cross, denoting the tribulation and sorrow which must attend its going. I could not favor any such banner."

It was such utterances as these which showed that the whole country was in the presence of a great crisis, that the heart of every citizen was thrilled with unaccustomed emotion. Beneath this outward show of antagonism so eloquently displayed on the floor of the convention, there were undercurrents still stronger.

It is a great mistake to suppose that because of the large majority given to union delegates in the convention the State could at that time be classed as a union State; it is true there was among them a reverence for the union, and it was hoped that all difficulties could be amicably settled and the union preserved without raising the question of primary allegiance to their own State, and such an effort was made in the meeting called in support of the Crittenden compromise resolution, but it may be confidently assumed that at least two-thirds of the voters of the State outside of St. Louis held that "if the North (meaning the federal government), pending the attempt to adjust matters peaceably, should make war upon any Southern State, Missouri would take up arms in its defense." This was the declaration, but such is not unionism. The authority of the Government of the United States extends over individuals and not over states, and may cause every individual within any State, whether he be a State officer or not, or of all the States, to obey the laws of the United States passed in pursuance of the powers given by the constitution, and the federal government may also suppress insurrections against its authority in any State, and may use the militia of any State for that purpose. The ridiculous declaration about making war upon a State means only that if the federal government should undertake to use the military to execute the laws, or to suppress an insurrection against its authority, they would resist, and, if it was a Southern State (that is, a slave State), would take up arms in its defense. The majority of the convention was, however, composed of union men wise enough to know what unionism was. The people had elected them as such, and they took them at their word. Secession was of itself a threatened violation of law, because it was a declared resistence to any attempt to execute any federal law within the territorial limits of the State, but it was [illegible] "brutum fulmen" until some act of resistance had been committed. It was a threat, however, that the provisions of the federal constitution which gives that government the power to pass laws for the collection of the revenue, for the performance of postal service, for the management of the army and navy, for the preservation of the forts and arsenals, and the passage of such other laws as should be necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the constitution, would be resisted, and, therefore, it was unconstitutional and unlawful, and could not be made binding upon any one [illegible] an entire State, even though a majority or [illegible] of the State should approve [illegible] "making war upon a sovereign State," so freely used in the convention and out of it, was a subterfuge, and designed to cheer and strengthen the regard and sympathy which the people had for their [illegible] political entity, to which, as such, they had become attached. The threat of [illegible] in certain contingency and manifest determination to make it effective [illegible] shown by the acts and declarations of the leading politicians in the State and by their representatives in Congress made it necessary for those who loved the union, beyond any affection they had for the State, to take warning and adopt [illegible] measures as would enable them to give all the aid in their power to the government [illegible] which their allegiance was first [illegible]

It [illegible] stated as an undoubted [illegible] fact that on the 17th of [illegible] [illegible] Jackson, a [illegible] [illegible] Sumter [illegible] War [illegible]

which it refused the requisition as "illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary," and, long before that time, a large majority of the people of Missouri were in favor of secession and uniting the fortunes of Missouri with the States already seceded.

In a lengthy letter from Gov. Jackson to J. W. Tucker, editor of the State Journal, of the date of April 28, 1861, in which he bitterly denounced Paschall and the Missouri Republican as pimps and spies, he said that Missouri ought to go out of the union, and no doubt will go at the proper time, that "she ought to have gone out last winter, when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself. This she has failed to do, and we must now wait a little while." In that letter he said: "I want a little time to arm the State, and I am assuming every responsibility to do it with all possible dispatch." And further, "Paschall knows the people are twenty to one against him, and hence he seeks to drag me into his aid and support." Mention will be made of this letter hereafter.

In addition to the facts above recited there were others that need not be mentioned, which satisfied the union men of St. Louis that war was inevitable, and that they must prepare for the defense of themselves and the cause which they advocated. The police force was taken out of the control of the city and placed in the hands of the Governor, Southern States had seceded, and Gov. Jackson in his message at the assemblege of the Legislature declared that Missouri must stand by the South. The States that had seceded had taken possession of the arsenals located in their territory. In the arsenal at St. Louis there were stored a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and it was very evident from what was known at the time that an attempt would be made to rob the government of this property, which was insufficiently guarded. In fact, during a larger portion of the month of January, there was not even a company of troops within its walls, except a squad of soldiers, which was sent on January 11, under the command of Lieutenant Robinson, from Newport Barracks to take charge of the custom house and sub-treasury, and was afterward taken to the arsenal.

Mr. Isaac H. Sturgeon, now, 1898, holding the office of comptroller of the city, has kindly furnished a written statement of the facts connected with the arrival of Lieutenant Robinson at St. Louis, which shows the valuable service he rendered to the union cause. He was then holding the office of assistant treasurer, under the appointment of Mr. Buchanan. Owing to the movements in some of the Southern States, he became uneasy as to the safety of the public funds under his control, amounting at the time to nearly $1,000,000 in gold and silver. Major Bell, in control of the public property at the arsenal, kept his accounts with the assistant treasurer. Mr. Sturgeon, alluding to the condition of things at the arsenal, says that on the 5th day of January, 1861, Maj. Bell told him that there were stored there 60,000 stand of arms, 200 or more barrels of powder, cannon, cannon balls and other munitions of war, with only one man to walk the grounds at night to keep out intruders. These facts being represented to Mr. Buchanan, the matter was at once referred to General Scott, who promptly ordered Lieutenant Robinson, with forty men, to St. Louis. At first these troops were placed in the upper rooms of the Postoffice, at Third and Olive Streets, where the Sub-Treasury was, but they were soon after removed to the Arsenal, and subsequently they were reinforced by the troops then stationed at Jefferson Barracks.

On the 11th of January, the folowing card of O. D. Filley, Mayor of St. Louis, appeared in the papers:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, January 11, 1861.—Gentlemen of the Board of Common Council: A very general and unusual excitement prevails in our community, and, although I do not apprehend that any actual disturbance or interference with the rights of our citizens will ensue, yet I deem it best that all proper precautionary measures should be taken to fully prepare for any event. I would, hence, recommend that the members of the council, from each ward, select from among their best citizens such a number of men as the exigencies of the case may seem to require and to organize them to be ready for any emergency; our citizens are entitled to the full protection of the laws and must have it. Respectfully,

O. D. FILLEY.

This shows the excitement in St. Louis at the time. The fact is that during the months of January, February, March and April the city was resting upon a volcano. The struggle of the contending forces was for the establishment of an independent republic in the South on the one hand and the maintenance of the union on the other. The adherents of each thought that in securing the State of Missouri to their side they would determine the contest in their favor. It was therefore a contest of no ordinary magnitude, and destined to form an important era in the history of our country. Mr. Sturgeon says that after the troops had been removed from the barracks to the arsenal Gov. Jackson visited the North Missouri Railroad office on official business, and in the course of conversation with him said "that if his advice had been taken the arsenal would have been seized when he could have walked in with ten armed men and taken it, as it had no protection, but that to do so now would cost the lives of a great many men and the probable destruction of the city. There can be no doubt of the great value of Mr. Sturgeon's services in the cause of the union. The St. Louis Democrat on the 2d of February, 1861, in an editorial on the subject of the federal officers in the State, said: "They eat the bread of the government they are plotting to destroy." "The gentleman who fills the office of assistant treasurer, the Hon. Isaac H. Sturgeon, is the only one who has the decency to regard the spirit of the oath by which their fidelity is pledged to the government which employs and feeds them."

Up to the 24th of January, 1861, Major Bell was in charge of the arsenal and of the ordnance stores deposited there; he was in complete sympathy with the secessionists; he was removed and Major Hagner appointed in his place. Just before the removal of Major Bell (who refused to give up his post and resigned his commission in the army) he came to an understanding with Gen. Frost, the commander of the State forces, as appears in a letter addressed by General Frost to Gov. Jackson of the date of January 24, in which he said:

"I have just returned from the arsenal, where I have had an interview with Major Bell, the commanding officer at that place. I found the Major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, a right to claim it as being on her soil. He gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper State authorities. He promised me upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giving me timely information, and I in return promised him that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him from being annoyed by irresponsible persons." On the 24th Major Bell was removed and Hagner appointed in his place; at that time Lieutenant Robinson and his forty men constituted all the military force within the arsenal. Toward the latter part of January Captain Sweeny, with his company, reported to Major McRae at Jefferson Barracks, and he was ordered to relieve Lieutenant Robinson at the arsenal. On the 6th of February Capt. Nathaniel Lyon arrived at the arsenal with his company of regulars from Fort Riley and assumed command of the troops, but not of the arms and munitions of war. They were in charge of Major Hagner, an ordnance officer, and his senior in rank. General Scott ordered troops to the arsenal, but still left Hagner in command. On the 16th of February 203 officers and men were brought to the arsenal, which were further re-enforced a few days after by 102 officers and men. This increased the force to nine officers and 484 men. General Harney now informed the department that there never had been any danger of an attack upon the arsenal, and that if one should be made "the garrison would be promptly rescued by an overwhelming force from the city." He was mistaken in saying that there never had been any danger of an attack upon the arsenal. There certainly was a design to make such an attack on the part of Gov. Jackson.

Mr. Snead, in his excellent work, "The Fight for Missouri," says that the minute men established their headquarters at the old "Bertold mansion"; that the [illegible] Blair and the home guards, had their [illegible] fixed upon the arsenal, and [illegible] drilled companies in other parts of the [illegible] that in the arsenal there were [illegible] muskets, while in all the Confede[illegible] there were [illegible] [illegible] willing [illegible] these muskets, that the [illegible]

organized according to law and five companies mustered into the State service by General Frost on the 13th of February formed into a battalion under the command of Captain Shaler and assigned to Frost's brigade.

In regard to the "overwhelming force from the city," mentioned by Gen. Harney, it is proper that we should go back and relate some of the prominent facts of historic interest which occurred previous to the 13th of February.

Previous to this time the unconditional Union men under the direction of Gen. Blair, Mr. Glover and others had taken action. They knew what it would seem every one could have known, from the declarations and actions of the Southern extremists after the election of Mr. Lincoln, of the men who controlled public sentiment in that section of the country, who not only controlled but dominated public sentiment, that there were but two alternatives, war or peaceable dissolution; they knew that the actors in revolutionary movements were always energetic and aggressive, necessarily so; that the quiet and conservative population would soon be driven by abuse, ridicule or force to join the revolutionists, as was proven to be the case afterward. They knew also that active steps had been taken by the State government to organize the militia of the State in the interest of secession; they knew also that there were a large number of arms and a large quantity of ammunition belonging to the federal government in the arsenal, with no military force to protect them, for during the month of January, 1861, there were not at any time exceeding 100 United States soldiers in the arsenal.

During the presidential campaign of 1860 the Republicans of St. Louis had organized political clubs called the "Wide-Awakes," which had been disbanded after the election, but owing to the political condition of affairs Mr. Blair advised their reorganization. After the reorganization the movements of the opposition led to its abandonment and the organization of union clubs was determined upon. To this end a meeting of the Union men was called for the evening of January 11, 1861; it was announced a Republican meeting.

On the day before the meeting was held [illegible] the office of Mr. F. A. Dick, on Fifth Street (now Broadway), near the old Presbyterian Church, composed of the following gentlemen, viz.: Samuel T. Glover, F. P. Blair, Jr., F. A. Dick, Henry T. Blow, O. D. Filley, Peter L. Foy, William McKee, James O. Broadhead, and I think Giles F. Filley, perhaps others, but not exceeding twelve in number. Henry T. Blow was a union man, but he was the son-in-law of Thornton Grimsley, a strong secession sympathizer, prominent and highly respected as a citizen of St. Louis. Mr. Blow said that he had learned from Col. Grimsley that the meeting at Washington hall would be broken up, that a meeting had been held at a building on Olive Street, between Second and Main, nearly opposite the old Olive Street Hotel, at which 100 men, strong secessionists, had pledged themselves to break up the meeting. The meeting, however, was held, and the room was crowded. There had been a meeting of Democrats who called themselves Constitutional Union men, held at Washington hall on the 9th of January, 1861, which appointed a committee of twenty to act with a committee of the Union party, "for the purpose of opposing black Republicanism." At the meeting of the night of January 11, Mr. O. D. Filley, as a measure of precaution, had ordered a large force of police to attend the meeting. At that meeting the organization of the "Wide-Awakes" was abandoned and provision made for the formation of Union clubs, and at this meeting all union men in the City of St. Louis, irrespective of old party ties, were invited to join in the new association, and a movement was made for the nomination of candidates for the convention to be held on the 28th of February, 1861. Most of the ultra Republicans were in favor of placing a straight-out Republican ticket in the field, but this was opposed by F. P. Blair, Jr., Samuel T. Glover and others. One of the speakers said: "I don't believe in breaking up the Republican party just to please these lower-rooted Unionists. I believe in sticking to the party." "Let us have a country first," responded Mr. Blair, "and then we can talk about parties." And it was this wise course suggested by Mr. Blair, advocated by Mr. Glover and adopted by the meeting that paved the way for the triumph

of the union cause in Missouri, for the Republicans in the whole State at the presidential election had polled only about 17,000 votes. Subsequent events showed the wisdom of this course. A meeting of unconditional union men was called to meet at the Mercantile Library hall for the 31st of January. Sol Smith was made chairman, resolutions in favor of the union were passed, a committee of twenty was appointed to present at an adjourned meeting the names of suitable candidates for the convention. The committee of twenty was made up of Republicans Bell and Everett men and Douglas men. By call of the chairman of this meeting all unconditional union men were invited to meet at Veranda hall on the 6th of February for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee. The committee reported to a large meeting at Veranda hall, through Mr. Alexander, the following names of unconditional union candidates for the convention. Ferdinand Meyer, George R. Taylor, Dr. M. L. Linton, H. R. Gamble, Hudson E. Bridge, John F. Long, Sol Smith, J. H. Shackleford, Uriel Wright, Turner Maddox, Wm. S. Cuddy, James O. Broadhead, Isidor Bush, John How and Henry Hitchcock. Blair made a speech favoring the nominations, and said he did not care what party men had belonged to, he was for a new party—an unconditional union party. Col. John O'Fallon and Samuel T. Glover were on the list of names reported, but they declined becoming candidates. Speeches were made at the meeting by F. P. Blair, Jr., Charles Gibson and J. K. Knight in support of the nominees. There was no Breckenridge man on the ticket. At the meeting held on the 11th at Washington hall, Mr. Samuel T. Glover was selected as president of the union organization, with C. P. Johnson secretary, Dr. George Hillgartner corresponding secretary and F. A. Dick treasurer, and the secretary authorized to name two citizens from each ward to call ward meetings for the organization of ward clubs. On the 12th of January Archbishop Kenrick published a card addressed to the Catholics of St. Louis advising them that in the present disturbed state of the public mind he recommended that they avoid all occasions of public excitement, that the indulgence of a word, or the impetuosity of momentary passion might endanger public tranquility." This card was published in the [illegible] of the 12th of January.

On the 8th of January, 1861, a public meeting was held, exclusively under the auspices of the secessionists, at which Thomas C. Reynolds, the Lieutenant Governor of Missouri, made an inflammatory speech in favor of the Southern cause, at which meeting the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That we pledge Missouri to a [illegible] Southern States [illegible] deemed necessary [illegible] the encroachments of Northern fanaticism and the [illegible] Federal government." Previous to the meeting of the 11th, at Washington hall, a number of Republicans and Union Democrats had agreed to hold a grand rally of the union men at the Court House on Saturday, the 12th of January, "to declare the sentiments of St. Louis on the great issues before the country," but on the morning of that day the papers announced that "the meeting was expected to assert its loyalty to the union," and at the same time to take position in favor of "the Crittenden proposition, as a fair basis for the adjustment of all the real differences between the free and the slave States." This proposition met with objection from Republicans. The states that had seceded had blocked the way which would lead to any compromise. South Carolina had laid down her ultimatum, the immediate evacuation of Fort Sumter or war; the Star of the West, sent for the relief of that fort, had been fired upon; the Senators from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas had advised their respective states to secede at once and organize a slave-holding confederacy; the Governor of Georgia had sent a detachment of State troops under Alexander R. Lawton to seize and occupy Fort Pulaski, which commanded the approach to Savannah from the ocean, which [illegible] on the 3rd of January, [illegible] the Governor of Alabama [illegible] States [illegible] Mobile [illegible] Morgan [illegible]

[illegible]an, in view of these events, declared in [illegible] message to Congress, of the 9th of January, "that the fact could no longer be disguised, that the country was in the midst of a great revolution," and on that day the Star of the West, which had been sent to the relief of Sumter, was driven back to sea by the batteries which South Carolina had erected in Charleston Harbor; on the 10th Louisiana took possession of the arsenal at Baton Rouge, and on the next day Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, which guarded the entrance to the Mississippi, were occupied by Louisiana troops; all these acts were warlike acts; the Southern states had inaugurated war and committed acts of hostility against the Government of the United States. It is said revolutions never go backward, and they never do until they are driven backward. Such is the testimony of history; and, therefore, the Hon. Francis P. Blair, Jr., after consultation with the leading men of his party, decided that the proper course for them to pursue would be to declare unalterable fidelity to the union under all circumstances. This could not be done under the manifest purposes of the proposed meeting without leading to angry controversies which might be productive of serious consequences, and antagonisms among the union men, which would defeat the main object in view as announced at the meeting of the 11th at Washington hall, viz., the consolidation of all the union men in the city, for it was evident from the acts and spirit of the seceding states that no compromise would be acceptable to them, and that when the union men who still hoped for a settlement by some compromise should find that all such efforts were hopeless they would unite in forming an unconditional Union party, such as had been suggested at the meeting of the 11th at Washington hall, and so the following placard was posted around the city:

[illegible] MEETING.

[illegible] to the Republicans [illegible] seems to be the determination [illegible] called the union meeting today to take narrower grounds in support of the union of the states than that which the Republicans [illegible] have already assumed. [illegible] expedient [illegible] participate in the meeting today, but to maintain the position already assumed in favor of the union under all circumstances.

(Signed)

F. P. BLAIR,
P. L. FOY,
WILLIAM McKEE,
F. A. DICK,
S. T. GLOVER,
R. S. HART.

The meeting was held at the east front door of the Court House. It was a grand meeting, largely attended, and composed of nearly all the leading men of the city, and some from the county. Some Republicans attended it, and there was at least one prominent Republican on the list of vice presidents, and they were all sincerely desirous of preserving the union. Col. Robert Campbell was chosen president and E. N. Tracy and J. B. S. Lemoine secretaries. Judge Gamble addressed the meeting, and at the conclusion of his remarks, John D. Coalter, as chairman of the committee, reported the resolution. The Crittenden propositions of compromise were approved, and the resolutions unanimously adopted. The resolutions expressed ardent attachment to the union, and declared its dissolution as disastrous to our country, and "as tending to injure the cause of rational liberty throughout the world." The resolution in regard to slavery declared: "That the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such ought to be ever recognized by the federal government; that if the federal government shall fail and refuse to secure this right, the Southern states should be found united in its defense, in which event Missouri will share the common duties and common danger of the South." At that time there was no denial of the constitutional right to hold slave property, however much a large portion of the Republican party might depricate the existence of the institution, as Jefferson and Washington had both done; the fugitive slave law was in force; the Republican party at their national convention had disavowed any intention to interfere with slavery in the states. Crittenden, to whose counsel they appealed, had, in his proposition of December, 1860, opposed the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and was in favor of its restoration, and making it a

part of the constitution, and also of providing by constitutional amendment against interference by Congress with slavery wherever it should be legally established. Crittenden also supported Mr. Lincoln's administration: and in July, 1861, by resolution, held that it was the right and duty of the government to maintain the union by force. It followed, therefore, that the able and patriotic men who spoke the sentiments of the meeting of January 12 would not be slow to unite with the unconditional union men in support of the federal government in its efforts to preserve the union when they should find that no compromise would satisfy the South, and that the slaveholding states were determined to form a Southern Confederacy. The meeting of January 12 was not without the most beneficial results; the leading men who participated in its proceedings and the large majority of the men who composed it were sincerely desirous of preserving an unbroken union; the voice which uttered such sentiments came from St. Louis; it came from leading men in all the departments of industry and from all professions; men whose names were respected and honored throughout the state, and throughout the state it fell upon the ears of anxious listeners, and had much to do with securing the election of the union candidates for the convention. Between the 12th of January and the 31st of the same month there was a disposition shown to act with the Republicans under their resolution of January 11, by which all union men were invited to unite with them in the foundation of a union party; for at the library hall meeting of January 31, a committee was appointed, as has been stated, to name candidates for the convention, and on the 6th of February fifteen candidates for the convention were selected, four of whom were Republicans, and the other eleven were composed of those who had supported Douglas, or Bell and Everett.

As has been stated, Col. John O'Fallon and Samuel T. Glover declined being candidates, and the following named persons were selected: Ferdinand Meyer, George R. Taylor, Dr. M. L. Linton, H. R. Gamble, Hudson E. Bridge, John F. Long, Sol Smith, J. H. Shackleford, Uriel Wright, Turner Maddox, William S. Cuddy, James [illegible] Broadhead, James Bush, John How and Henry Hitchcock. Subsequently George R. Taylor, William S. Cuddy and Turner Maddox declined being candidates, and T. T. Gantt, Samuel M. Breckenridge and Robert Holmes were chosen to fill the ticket. On the [illegible] of February the Constitutional Union party selected the following ticket, viz: John D. Coalter, Henry Overstolz, Uriel Wright, D. A. January, Albert Todd, J. W. Willis, William T. Wood, N. J. Eaton, H. S. Turner, George Penn, H. R. Gamble, L. V. Bogy, L. M. Kennett and P. B. Gareschè. It will be seen that H. R. Gamble and Uriel Wright were on both tickets. The Unconditional Union ticket was elected by over 5,000 majority.

It was at the meeting of January 11 that authority was given for the formation of a committee of safety, and that it was understood that F. P. Blair, Jr., and Dr. Porter, who were named as the executive committee of the Unconditional Union men, should, upon consultation with others, appoint that committee with full power to act for the Union party. That committee consisted of O. D. Filley, Samuel T. Glover, Francis P. Blair, Jr., J. J. Witzig, John How and James O. Broadhead; of these O. D. Filley was chosen president and James O. Broadhead secretary. Brief pencil memoranda were kept by the secretary of the committee of safety, but, unfortunately, they have been long since lost. A detective force was provided for, of which J. E. D. Couzins, formerly Chief of Police, was the head. The detective force were paid for their services, and they were to report from time to time any material facts which came to their knowledge touching the movements of the secessionists. For a long time and during this most exciting period the [illegible] Blair [illegible]

Republican party in St. Louis insisted upon [illegible] that they were the only true union men, or had they in force attended the meeting of the 12th at the Court House and resisted the adoption of the Crittenden compromise, an antagonism would have been produced, calculated to imperil if it had not destroyed all hopes of the union cause in Missouri; and had Missouri seceded, there can be no doubt that Kentucky would have followed her example. The aggregate vote of those two states at the preceding presidential election was 311,724, and the vote of Illinois 339,693. The secessionists throughout the state, under the lead of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Jackson and Reynolds, and Greene, Parsons, Atchison, Polk and others, were active, aggressive and proscriptive. No public meeting was held during that time in St. Louis, except the two of the 11th and 12th of January, at which the supporters of Mr. Lincoln were not denounced as Black Republicans. At one of their meetings they declared that "they would do what they could to remove from St. Louis the stigma of being an anti-slavery Black Republican county hostile to the institutions of the state of Missouri" (February 9). They seemed more intent upon crushing out or driving from the state, as they frequently threatened to do, the small band of Republicans who had voted for Mr. Lincoln, than of preserving the union; indeed, they were not for preserving the union, but for joining the revolutionary cohorts which commenced the war against the federal government.

It was at a meeting at Washington hall on the 7th of January that the minute men were organized. Charles McLaren was president of the meeting. Prior to or shortly after the meeting of the Republicans at Washington hall on January 11, the exact date not now recollected, there had been a meeting of prominent union men at the counting room of O. D. Filley, on Main Street, to consider what should be done in the way of personal protection against the threats and domineering spirit of the secessionists, for there is no doubt that threats had been made to drive out the prominent unconditional union men residing in the central and northern portion of the city, where they were in the minority; their lives were threatened and rumors were circulated that the state guards intended to take possession of the arsenal; and so it was determined at this meeting that the union men should arm themselves with such weapons as they could procure. A sum of money was raised for the purpose, and all the Sharp's rifles and other weapons of the kind were purchased from Woodward, who kept a gun store on Main street. Mr. Orlando Filley says that he bought fifty Sharp's rifles, with which he armed the men in his factory, and that his men were two nights under arms, owing to a rumor that the state guards under Gen. Frost intended to make an effort to take the arsenal.

At this time Mr. Samuel T. Glover had his office at the corner of Fourth and Olive. On one occasion Sam Gaty, a client of his and a strong secessionist, came into the office, and, seeing a gun there, asked Mr. Glover what he was doing with a gun in his office. Mr. Glover replied: "You d—— secessionists don't expect to drive the union men out of the city, do you?"

No one who was not a close observer of events of that day can form any conception of the proscriptive and malignant spirit which existed among the secessionists throughout the state. As an evidence, it may be stated that in the County of St. Charles, Landfield, a school teacher, was ordered to leave the county because he had voted for Mr. Lincoln and advocated the doctrines of the Republican party. He asked for a hearing, and he was tried by a committee of twenty-eight of the most prominent citizens of the county, among whom were Dr. McElhaney, Joseph Alexander, B. A. Alderson and others of equally high standing, and was driven out of the county, as stated by the papers. The proceedings, with the resolutions of the committee, are published in full in a number of the Missouri Democrat published in January, 1861.

At the meeting held in O. D. Filley's office provision was also made for organizing a body or bodies of men who should serve in the work of mutual protection, and accordingly such companies were formed in various parts of the city. Sixteen companies were thus formed, composed of about 1,200 men between that time and the 15th of February, 1861. They were drilled in different parts

of the city, and all acted in harmony with and under the direction of the committee of safety. The writer for a short time belonged to a company which was drilled in a large room in the upper part of Windeler's brewery on Market street. Too much praise can not be awarded to the German population of St. Louis for their patriotic efforts in favor of the union.

During the time of organizing the companies of Union Guards, Gov. Yates, of Illinois, forwarded 200 muskets for the use of the St. Louis union men, which were shipped to Mr. Giles F. Filley, care of Woodward & Co., hardware dealers. They then were sent to Turner hall in a beer wagon under cover of some beer barrels, and there distributed to reliable union men. About this time a subscription was raised in support of the union cause. This matter was placed in the hands of Samuel R. Filley and E. W. Fox, and from St. Louis and the East the sum of about $30,000 was raised. There were certain companies of the Union Guards especially relied upon for the defense of the arsenal, and they had to be provided for, and, in fact, the committee of safety could not carry on their operations efficiently without money. These Union Guards above mentioned were the men referred to by Gen. Harney in his communication to the department of the date of February 19, in which he said there was no danger of an attack upon the arsenal, and never had been, and that if one should be made, the garrison would be promptly rescued "by an overwhelming force from the city." There may have been men enough, but they were not armed; of the Union Guards then organized, not more than one fifth had arms; whereas, the minute men were armed with muskets of "the latest and very best pattern." (Snead, p. 133). And the state authorities had artillery and muskets which had been furnished a short time before for the Southwest expedition against Montgomery and the Kansas raiders, and the State Guards were well armed, or could have been at any time. It is true they had not a large supply of arms, but the small arms were of the best quality. What gave the greatest trouble, however, was the fact that no reliance could be placed upon Major Hagner, the commanding officer at the arsenal who had been assigned to the post [illegible] [illegible] arsenal walls, and Major Hagner was the [illegible] manding officer at the post, and of all [illegible] [illegible] wrote to Washington, [illegible] [illegible] to come to some [illegible] [illegible] arsenal, that Hagner refused to do anything that [illegible] in regard to reputation for [illegible] arsenal, and had given orders [illegible] the [illegible] to repel an approach [illegible] the enemy have all the advantage [illegible] walls to protect himself behind them, [illegible] get possession of all the outbuildings [illegible] looking us, and we to get inside and under the shelter of our buildings, which [illegible] not [illegible] before we made resistance. "This," he says in his letter, "is either [illegible] or [illegible] villany." Gen. Scott [illegible] [illegible] that the command belonged [illegible] Hagner, and Lyon in this letter [illegible] asked for a simple order, countermanding that assigning Hagner to duty according to brevet rank, which would give Lyon the command. Mr. Blair did not succeed with the Buchanan administration in effecting the object of his journey to Washington, but [illegible] soon as Mr. Lincoln got the machinery [illegible] his administration in working order, he commanded that Gen. Lyon be placed in charge of the defenses of the arsenal. The order to Hagner in compliance with special order No. 74 of the War Department was as follows:

St. Louis Arsenal, March 19, 1861.—Post order No. 58. In compliance with special order No. 74, War Department, Adjutant-General's office, dated Washington, March 13, 1861, assigning Captain N. Lyon [illegible] infantry, the command of the troops and defenses [illegible] post, the undersigned [illegible] to Captain Lyon all [illegible] [illegible] pertaining to the [illegible] office of the arsenal and [illegible] [illegible]

he belonged to the ordnance department of the army, and Lyon could get nothing in the [illegible] of ordnance supplies for his troops, and on the 6th of April he wrote to Blair, who had then taken his seat as a member of Congress from St. Louis, acknowledging that he was indebted to Blair for the change in command of the troops, but he says with the order of the War Department, as interpreted by Gen. Harney he feared little had been gained; that he was held responsible for the defense of the place without having the means of a defense; that he could not get the ordnance buildings [illegible] means of defense without a struggle before Gen. Harney, who seems to think there is no danger of an attack; that he could not get a hammer, spade or ax or any needful tool without Major Hagner's concession, or by making requisition upon Gen. Harney and getting his orders; that he hoped to have entire control of the means available for the defense of the post; that in all military matters there should be one commander, and he asked that the Secretary of War order that this special order No. 74 should have no exception in men and means necessary for the defense which he was held responsible for. In justice to General Harney, it may be said that he was loyal to the government, and that his interpretation of the order from the War Department was the correct one. On the same day (April 6) upon which the letter above referred to was written, Capt. Lyon wrote another letter to Mr. Blair, in which he said that "since writing the above I have seen Gen. Harney and had a long and free talk with him, and he seems alive to the present state of things and has ordered Hagner to issue me, and provide such items as I have specified, and [illegible] strongly a wish that Hagner [illegible] of the war [illegible] to put me free from his [illegible]."

[illegible] to this time of an intended attack upon the arsenal. After the 4th of March, 1861, F. P. Blair was in Congress; Montgomery Blair, his brother, was a member of the Cabinet as Postmaster General and [illegible] of St. Louis, was also in the Cabinet as Attorney-General, so that the committee [illegible] had ample means of getting information as to what was going on at Washington. The new administration had trouble there as well as in the West; nearly all of the Southern States had seceded and taken possession of the forts and arsenals within their respective territories; the Southern Confederacy had been formed; the Star of the West, in an effort to relieve Fort Sumter, had been driven to sea by the batteries in Charleston harbor, where there was a Confederate force under the command of Gen. Beauregard. The fort was occupied by a military force under Anderson, of less than 100 men, and its defense was otherwise incomplete. The fort was built upon an artificial island, and was at that time unfinished, but it was a United States fort, and nothing in it and no part of the ground upon which it was built belonged to any one of the states. Early in April, 1861, Cabinet meetings were held at Washington to determine how it should be relieved and reenforced, so that it could be defended from a threatened attack from the Confederate forces.

While the efforts above mentioned were being made to secure Missouri to the union, in spite of and in opposition to all the forces of the state administration, backed as it was by our Senators in Congress and the leading politicians of the state, the General-in-chief of the army and the chief member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, the man who was his principal competitor for the presidential nomination at the Chicago convention of 1860, were in favor of letting the "erring sisters depart in peace," those erring sisters who held the keys to the gates of commerce from the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Rio Grande; who had closed the mouth of the Mississippi, that waters this great Northwestern empire, to the states and territories which compose it, and could levy tribute upon every bushel of wheat and every pound of pork which through this channel sought the markets of the world.

One evening in the latter part of March 1861, there was a gathering at the executive mansion, while the Sumter question was pending, the members of the Cabinet were invited to the council chamber, where the President informed them he had just been advised by General Scott that it was expedient to evacuate Fort Pickens as well as Fort Sumter, which last was assumed at military headquarters to be a determined fact, in conformity to the views of Secretary Seward and General

Scott; a brief silence followed the announcement of this amazing recommendation. Mr. Montgomery Blair, looking earnestly at Mr. Seward, remarked that it was evident the General was playing politician in regard to both Sumter and Pickens, for it was not possible, if there was a defense, for the rebels to take Pickens, and that the administration would not be justified in evacuating either. At the next Cabinet meeting the President announced his determination to supply Sumter, and confidential orders were issued to that effect. All were gratified with this decision, except Mr. Seward, who still remonstrated. Confidential information of this order was promptly sent to Charleston from Washington, doubtless under the direction of Mr. Seward. Military preparations were made for the relief of Sumter, a squadron was fitted out by the Navy Department within a week to co-operate with the military, and instructions given to Captain Mercer, of the steam frigate Powhatan to command the squadron and proceed off Charleston harbor; the other vessels were instructed to report to him on the 11th of April, ten miles east of Charleston light house. This whole plan and arrangement was defeated; not only were the rebels advised of the confidential movements of the administration, but at the moment of sailing the expedition was deprived of its commander. The Powhatan, with boats, supplies and men destined for Sumter, had been withdrawn from the service to which it was ordered; Captain Mercer was displaced from command, and the vessels and supplies were sent under a different and junior commander, without naval orders or instructions, on a useless mission to Pensacola, all by order from the Secretary of State, and this was done without consultation with the Navy or War Departments. Nothing was known of this by the Navy Department until after the Powhatan had sailed. The President was informed, and he at once directed Mr. Seward to telegraph forthwith and countermand the orders. Mr. Seward remonstrated, claiming that the Powhatan was essential to reenforce Pickens, but the President was firm, and insisted, and by his direction Mr. Seward telegraphed to New York and a fast boat was dispatched from the navy yard at New York but it was too late.

It was on the night of April 10 that the Powhatan sailed, and on the next day Mr. Seward wrote to Judge Campbell, of the supreme bench, who was a leading secessionist, and afterward resigned:

"Faith as to Sumter fully kept. Wait and see."

The writer's authority for the above statement is an article entitled:

"Remarks on the Memorial Address of Charles Francis Adams on the Late William H. Seward" by the Hon. Gideon Wells, Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Lincoln, published in the Galaxy of October, November and December, 1872; also published in book form, but no copy of the book now to be had; edition exhausted or publication suppressed.

We may not have been able to save Sumter, but the foregoing facts which come from the highest and most authoritative source, show the difficulties which surrounded the administration in the East as well as the West. As soon as Mr. Seward found that his projects were defeated, and saw the intense public sentiment aroused at the firing on Fort Sumter, which happened a few days after, he became a strong supporter of the administration, and its policy, politician as he was, for he was never a statesman.

Early in the morning of the 12th of April notice was given by Gen. Beauregard, in command of the Confederate forces at Charleston, that unless Fort Sumter was surrendered within an hour he would open fire upon it, and at 4:20 a. m. a signal shell was accordingly thrown into Sumter, and in a few minutes fire was opened from all the Confederate batteries. Major Anderson returned the fire about 7 a. m. Firing was kept up on both sides for nearly thirty-four hours, until at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of April 13 the fort was surrendered.

On the 15th of April Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, dispatched to Gov. Jackson, calling on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service. On the 17th Gov. Jackson replied as follows:

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War—Sir: Your dispatch of the 15th inst., making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service has been rec[illegible] There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to form a part of the present army to make war upon the people of the seceded states. You [illegible] my

judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary; in its object inhuman and diabolical, and can not be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.

C. F. JACKSON,
Governor of Missouri.

The Hon. F. P. Blair returned to St. Louis from Washington on that day. The committee of safety had been active in the organization of loyal citizens into companies and regiments during the months of February and March, and the organization of more than four regiments had been completed. Blair being apprised of the answer of Gov. Jackson to the Secretary of War, at once telegraphed to Washington, offering to raise immediately four regiments for active duty, and urging the appointment of an officer to muster them into the service. Captain Barton Able was also appointed to visit Washington for the purpose of representing Missouri affairs to the President and Cabinet, and confirming the dispatch of Mr. Blair. Several of the officers of the Missouri militia belonging to the command of Gen. Frost resigned and threw up their commissions on the 17th of April. They were Major Schaeffer, Col. John N. Pritchard, Surgeon Florence M. Cornyn and Adjt. John S. Cavender. On the 20th of April news reached Capt. Lyon that the secessionists had seized the government arsenal at Liberty, Mo., and carried off the guns and ammunition. Among the arms taken from this arsenal were four brass cannon. About this time evidence was procured to the effect that agents had been appointed to bribe the ordnance officers at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to obtain arms and ammunition from that fort, and that a large sum of money had been raised for the purpose. Mr. Giles F. Filley states that the sum of $10,000 was paid for that purpose by a bank in St. Louis, and that $5,000 was to be paid by a bank at Arrow Rock, Saline County. Mr. Filley further says that a man by the name of Allen, a resident of Lawrence, Kan., and an old dealer with Mr. Filley, happened to be in St. Louis at the time. A message was taken by him to the officer in command at Fort Leavenworth informing him of the design of the secession agents. Mr. Allen did not think it safe to go by way of Kansas City, and so went by way of Southwest Missouri, thence to Fort Scott, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth the day before the arrival of the secession agents, and when they arrived they were told by the commanding officer of the fort that their business was known, and they could leave. On the 21st of April Capt. Lyon wrote to Mr. Blair that he had received information that Lieut. J. M. Schofield, who was on leave of absence in St. Louis, had received orders from Washington to muster volunteers into the service, saying at the same time "it would be well for some of your people to see and consult him at once; something should be done if possible today." On the same day Barton Able, John How, O. D. Filley, James O. Broadhead and F. A. Dick were with Mr. Blair at his residence on Washington avenue. It was resolved at once to hunt up Schofield and How and Broadhead started out in search of him. They met Prof. Waterhouse, a professor in the Washington University, where Schofield was also delivering lectures, and from him they received information as to where Schofield could be found. They took him over to Mr. Blair's, and he consented to go immediately to see Capt. Lyon, but when he reached the arsenal he found that Gen. Harney had prohibited the entrance of volunteers into the arsenal, or to have them armed and equipped. Capt. Lyon immediately informed Mr. Blair by note that Schofield "had no authority to arm and equip the men. We do not seem to be starting out right, with the instruction Mr. Schofield now has." Mr. Blair then telegraphed to Gov. A. G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, informing him of the refusal of Gen. Harney to permit the volunteer regiments to remain in the arsenal grounds or to be armed, and requesting that the facts be communicated to the Secretary of War by special messenger and instructions sent immediately to Harney to receive the troops at the Arsenal and arm them.

In a communication from Fitz John Porter, then Assistant Adjutant-General, of the date of May 1, 1861, to Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the Army, he states that "after the 19th of April, all communication with Washington was broken for several days, and more than two days was required to send there by messenger and get a reply. Seated in Governor Curtin's telegraph of-

fice at the Capital, Governor Curtin handed me the following dispatch, suggesting at the same time that I should reply to it, as I had to others received from the same person:

St. Louis, Mo., April 21, 1861.

Gov. A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa.:

An officer of the Army here has received an order to muster in Missouri regiments. General Harney refuses to let them remain in the Arsenal grounds, or permit them to be armed. I wish these facts to be communicated to the Secretary of War by special messenger, and instructions sent immediately to Harney to receive the troops at the Arsenal and arm them. Our friends distrust Harney very much. He should be superceded immediately by putting another in the district. The object of the secessionists is to seize the Arsenal with its 70,000 stand of arms, and he refuses the means of defending it. We have plenty of men, but no arms.

FRANK P. BLAIR, Jr.

"When the above dispatch was handed me, I felt it my duty, and that I would be justified in using the name and authority of the Secretary of War and of the General-in-chief, and I at once telegraphed.

Harrisburg, Pa., April 21, 1861.

General Harney, Commanding at St. Louis, Mo.:

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, Second Infantry, is detailed to muster in troops in St. Louis and to use them for the protection of public property. You will see that they are properly armed and equipped.

By order of Lieut.-Gen. Scott.

F. J. PORTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Harrisburg, Pa., April 21, 1861.

Hon. F. P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.:

Captain N. Lyon, Second Infantry, has been detailed to muster in troops at St. Louis and to use them for the protection of public property.

By order of the Secretary of War.

F. J. PORTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

This is another evidence of the sagacity and forecast of General Blair at this important crisis; no precaution escaped him, as no fear deterred him from the performance of his patriotic duties.

Blair then, in company with several members of the committee of safety, visited Lyon at the arsenal, had a consultation with him, and it was the conclusion of all that the arsenal must be reenforced that evening if possible, and accordingly the men and officers, under passes from Lyon, entered the arsenal that night. It was near midnight when Lyon received by telegraph the following order, in answer to the dispatch which Blair had sent to Gov. Curtin. Out of abundant caution, the dispatch had been sent from a station across the river. This was the order:

Adjutant General's Office, Washington, April 21, 1861.—Capt. N. Lyon, Second Infantry, East St. Louis: Gen. Harney has this day been relieved from his command. The Secretary of War directs that you immediately execute the order previously given, to arm the loyal citizens to protect public property and execute the laws. Muster four regiments into the public service.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

The four regiments were commanded respectively by Blair, Boernstein, Sigel and Schuttner, and those regiments were at once taken into the arsenal grounds, mustered into the service and armed. On the evening of April 23 Gen. Harney left for Washington, not relieved at that time, but ordered to Washington, which left Lyon in command. It had been confidently believed that an attempt would be made to take the arsenal that night; the committee had received such information, and the Hon. Danl. G. Taylor, then Mayor, visited the headquarters of the minute men and urged them not to make the attempt. Whether it was upon his advice or because the four regiments had been mustered into service, they finally determined not to undertake it. Shortly afterward, April 26, most of the arms and equipments were removed by Gen. Lyon to Springfield, Ill.

On the [illegible] of April an order was issued from the War Department at Washington, signed by Gen. Scott, Mr. Lincoln and the Adjutant-General and Secretary of War, authorizing Capt. Lyon, with the co-operation of the committee of safety, naming them, to raise not exceeding [illegible] The order reads as follows:

War Department, April 30, 1861.—Sir: The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding, with those heretofore

enlisted, 10,000 in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri, and you will, if deemed necessary for the purpose by yourself, and by Messrs. O. D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and Francis P. Blair, proclaim martial law in the City of St. Louis.

The additional force hereby authorized shall be discharged, in part or in whole, if enlisted, as soon as it appears to you and the gentlemen above named that there is no danger of an attempt on the part of enemies of the government to take military possession of St. Louis, or put the city in control of a combination against the government of the United States, and while such additional force remains in the service the same shall be governed by the rules and articles of war, and such special regulations as you may prescribe. It shall, like the force heretofore directed to be enrolled, be under your command. The arms and other military stores in the St. Louis arsenal not needed for the forces of the United States in Missouri must be removed to Springfield, or some other safe place of deposit in the State of Illinois as speedily as practicable by the ordnance officer in charge at St. Louis.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

(Indorsements.)

It is revolutionary times, and therefore I do not object to the irregularity of the same.

W. S.

Approved April 30, 1861. A. LINCOLN.

Col. Thomas will make this order.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

Two of the gentlemen of the above named, How and Filley, had held the office of Mayor of the City of St. Louis, and three of them, namely, Blair, Glover and Broadhead, were personally known to Mr. Lincoln. The regiments received into the arsenal were formed into a brigade and Capt. Lyon chosen General. Blair was Colonel of the First Regiment and J. W. Schaefer Major.

In addition to the four regiments of volunteers which were mustered into the service on the 21st of April another regiment of volunteers under Col. Soloman was soon after mustered in and armed. There were also five other organizations armed and enlisted for three months' service, and formed into a brigade called the United States Reserve Corps, of which Capt. Sweeny was chosen General. The writer was on his staff as Quartermaster, with the rank of Major, and has in his possession copies of contracts made for the occupation of quarters for the regiment. Soon after the organization of this brigade, however, Sweeny was called into the service of Gen. Lyon, who was on his way from Boonville to Springfield. McNeil was then in command for a short time, but soon after all the regiments constituting the United States Reserve Corps were ordered to the field in different parts of the State, and the United States Reserve Corps ceased to exist as a military organization. It is said that there is no record of a military organization of this character to be found in the records of the War Department.

The officers commanding these five regiments were as follows: Cols. Almstedt, Kallman, McNeil, B. Gratz Brown and Stiel. Stiel's regiment was the last to be mustered into service and armed at the arsenal, and on its way to the Stiel brewery in the northern part of the city, while marching up Fifth Street, and near the Presbyterian Church on the corner of Walnut, it was assaulted by a mob, stones thrown, very abusive language used, and finally a pistol shot fired from the crowd. The men of the regiment then commenced firing without any orders from the officers and continued firing as far as Pine Street. The result was that seven or eight were killed, principally soldiers of the regiment shot by their own men.

On the 17th of April Gov. Jackson sent Capts. Green and Duke to Montgomery, Ala., with an autograph letter to the President of the Confederacy, requesting him to furnish those officers with the siege guns and mortars which Gen. Frost wanted for the proposed attack upon the arsenal. On the same day the Governor called the Legislature to meet on the 2d day of May, to "enact such measures as might be deemed necessary for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia." He also ordered the commanding officers of the several militia districts of the state to assemble their respective commands at some convenient place in their own districts on the 3d of May; and on the 3d of May Camp Jackson

was formed. The committee of safety very soon acquired information of the commission of Green and Duke, and informed Captain Lyon, who was then in command, of this fact. The commissioners, upon their arrival at Montgomery, stated the object of their mission and of the plan for taking the arsenal. Mr. Davis approved the plan, as he was familiar with the ground, having once been stationed at Jefferson Barracks as an officer of the army, and ordered the officers in command at the Baton Rouge arsenal to supply the arms. In a letter in reply to Gov. Jackson he said that, after learning what was most needful for the attack on the arsenal, he had directed that Capts. Green and Duke should be furnished with two 12-pound howitzers and two 32-pound guns, with proper ammunition for each. "These, from the commanding hills, will be effective against the garrison and to break the inclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the arsenal and securing its supplies. We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America." These arms were shipped on the steamboat J. C. Swon, commanded by Capt. Jones. She steamed into the port of St. Louis on May 8 with a Confederate flag at her masthead. They were in boxes marked "Tamaroa Marble." "Care of Greely & Gale," well-known union men. Major Shaler, of Frost's brigade, took charge of them and they were taken by him to Camp Jackson, but the agents of the committee had kept watch of the whole movements, and Capt. Lyon was informed. On the 9th of May Capt. Lyon visited Camp Jackson in disguise and examined its exact location and the surroundings. On the same day, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the writer of this article rec[illegible] a note from Capt. Lyon by a messenger, saying that he requested him to meet him at the arsenal at 7 o'clock. Similar notices were received by the other members of the safety committee. They all came, and a consultation was held in the upper room of Lyon's headquarters. He said that he proposed to take Camp Jackson, but he desired to consult the safety committee on the subject and wished their acquiescence. The matter was discussed until about midnight. Two members of the committee were very much opposed to it, but when a vote was taken the other four favored the movement. Mr. Glover and the writer came back to his office, and at the corner of Fourth and Pine Streets, met two of the pickets from Camp Jackson. This and other facts show that Gen. Frost apprehended an attack. It was a stormy night. Blair's regiment was to have come up by boat from Jefferson Barracks, where it was stationed, but the severe storm prevented the boat making the trip that night. The regiment marched up by land the next morning.

On the night of the [illegible] looked at the question from a purely legal standpoint. Though he desired the capture of the place, he knew that no act against the authority of the federal government had as yet been committed by the command at Camp Jackson, the [illegible] living there, and he insisted that the ordinary legal steps should be taken for the re[illegible] Rouge by suing out a writ of replevin and [illegible] the head of the troops; but Lyon insisted upon the course he had evidently resolved upon. [illegible] ing prepared by Mr. Glover. A declaration in replevin was drawn up by Mr. Glover, and [illegible] the arsenal, but was refused admittance.

[illegible] which might be productive of disastrous con[illegible] for the law, for he was a brave man physi[illegible] however [illegible] com[illegible] but he [illegible] that thi[illegible]

siderably increased, the armament which was apparently to be used in an attack upon the arsenal was actually in the camp of Gen. Frost, and, situated as the arsenal was, the sufficiency of such would have enabled a very small force to accomplish the purpose in view, and that such a purpose was still held by Gov. Jackson there could be no doubt. Gen. Frost may not have known of such a purpose; he was under control of the commander in chief of the state forces, and it was unnecessary that any one else than the commander in chief should know, until the time for action came. Gen. Lyon was a soldier, and therefore the best judge of the impending danger, and what steps were necessary to avoid it.

On the morning of the 10th of May Gen. Frost wrote a letter to Lyon, stating that he was constantly in receipt of information that Lyon contemplated an attack upon his camp. He denied that either he or any of his men had any hostile intentions toward the United States Government, and would be glad to know whether there was any truth in the statements that were constantly poured into his ears, and concluded by saying: "I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unhappily afflict our common country." The letter was sent by Col. Bowen. Lyon refused to receive it, and immediately put his column in motion.

The regiments selected by Lyon to assist in the capture of Camp Jackson were the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th Missouri Volunteers and the 3d and 4th Reserve Corps. The camp was taken, and the troops treated as prisoners of war, taken down to the arsenal, and afterward released on their parole, except Capt. Emmett McDonald, who refusing to give his parole, applied to the federal court for a writ of habeas corpus. What finally became of this proceeding is not now recalled. When the writ was served on Gen. Harney, who had returned from Washington and was again in command, he made return that on the 13th of May Emmett McDonald had been transferred to the officer commanding the Illinois troops at Caseyville, Ill., and was not in his custody; but said at the same time that he could not surrender his custody unless some sufficient evidence should be furnished that he was not of the number of those at Camp Jackson who gave that Camp its character, by which it came under the class of disaffected men, hostile to the Government of the United States, referring to an order previously issued by the President for the dispersion of all bodies of armed rebels hostile to the United States. Many of the prisoners from Camp Jackson were afterward exchanged as prisoners of war. Of course, the public did not expect such a movement. The battles between the unionists and secessionists had up to this time been a war of words. Efforts, it is true, were made by the secessionists to bring on a conflict within the city; the national flag was insulted, and efforts made at one time on Fifth Street, opposite the Berthold mansion, to tear it down, but the union men continued their work and bided their time. A conflict within the city would have been disastrous to the union cause, as well as to the inhabitants. When the military movement on Camp Jackson was made it shocked a great many of our most prominent union citizens. A delegation went on to Washington for the purpose of having Gen. Lyon removed, and it was not surprising that those who knew so little about the real condition of affairs should have been amazed at the step taken by Gen. Lyon in regard to Camp Jackson, but I am sure that they themselves would be equally amazed now, when they bring to memory the position which they then assumed toward General Lyon. On the other hand a delegation was sent on by those who favored the movement of Lyon, and the committee of safety also sent on to the administration at Washington a lengthy communication signed by each member of the committee, justifying the act, and the result was that instead of removing Lyon he was promoted from the office of Captain to that of Brigadier General and left in command of the department.

The unfortunate affair which took place upon the surrender of the troops at Camp Jackson, by which twenty-eight persons were killed and many wounded, is much to be regretted. That night the streets were filled with infuriated men, secession speeches were made at various points to crowds of citizens who sympathized with the Southern cause; threats were made against prominent union men, and the whole city was in a state of turmoil; finally

a mob was formed for the purposes of tearing down the office of the Missouri Democrat, the paper which did so much for the union cause during those troublous times, but as the crowds rushed down Locust Street it was greeted by a platoon of thirty policemen under the command of Chief McDonough, who, with fixed bayonets, were in line extending across the street and facing the mob, and under orders to use both ball and bayonet in case of advance; the mob then moved back to the neighborhood of the Planters' House where the largest crowd was assembled.

From this time Missouri was secured to the union cause, and in regard to the rest of this sketch it will be confined to a brief statement of the names of the different military officers who held military control in the city and the dates of their appointment, referring only to a few incidents connected with their administration.

On the 16th of May, 1861, Gen. Harney was relieved from the command of the Department of the West, and leave of absence was granted him until further orders.

On the 17th of May Lyon was informed by the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, that he had been appointed Brigadier General of the volunteer force, raised in conformity with the President's proclamation of May 3, 1861, to rank from May 18, 1861.

After two efforts to effect a compromise between the contending parties, the first between Harney and Price, after Harney's return to St. Louis, and before his removal, which was agreed upon but not carried out; and the second, between Jackson and Price on the one side and Blair and Lyon on the other, after Lyon had been placed in command of the department, which was not consummated. Lyon, after securing the possession of the city by detachments of troops stationed at different points, left St. Louis by water on June 13 for Jefferson City, taking with him an army of about 2,000 men. Col. Blair, with the 1st Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, was in that expedition. I will quote the language of Gen. Lyon upon the breaking up of the last mentioned conference which was held at the Planters' House in St. Louis, as it is given by Thomas L. Snead in his book, entitled "The Fight for Missouri," he being present on the occasion as a member of Gen. Price's staff, inasmuch as his statement differs somewhat from the statement of others. After the conference had lasted three hours, Lyon closed it by saying:

"Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the state whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will, into or out of or through the state; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter however unimportant, I would (rising as he said this and pointing in turn to every one in the room) see you, and you, and you, and every man, woman and child in the state dead and buried." Then turning to the Governor he said, "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines."

The effort to secure Missouri to the union was one of no ordinary import. She was a slave state, and the men who were the leaders of public sentiment were the owners of slaves. They dictated for the most part the nomination and election of men to office, and were thus enabled to control to a great extent the political sentiments of the people. But the irrepressible conflict had come to a final issue, and many who owned slaves when the alternative was presented by the Southern States that there must be a further extension of slavery over territory which had been dedicated to freedom, or a dissolution of the union, determined to unite with those who had made war upon slavery and were willing to abandon the institution rather than sacrifice the union. To this course they were further impelled under the circumstances which surrounded them by a consideration of the wrong and injustice which had been perpetrated in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the adoption of the Lecompton constitution by a combination of fraud and force. Party ties were broken, as they ever should be when the country is in peril. In their eyes at least patriotism and patriotism demanded the sacrifice, and the union first, the union always, the union without a condition—was their watchword.

Lyon never returned to St. Louis alive. On the 25th of July, 1861, Gen. Fremont

then recently made a Major General, on his return from Paris, arrived in St. Louis and assumed command of the Department of the Missouri. He was vested with almost unlimited power, but his arrival in Missouri was a national disaster. In the fall of 1861, November 6, he was removed from the command of the department, not because of his issuing his proclamation of emancipation, which was repudiated by Mr. Lincoln, but because of his inefficiency as a military officer, his treatment of the union men in the interior of the state, his permitting Lyon and Mulligan to be sacrificed, and because he had spent more money than the law allowed. The writer of this article was deputed to Washington by the committee of safety for the purpose of urging his removal, and from the lips of Mr. Lincoln himself, after an interview of more than an hour, was informed that the order would be issued for his removal.

Early in the summer of 1861, the writer was appointed as Assistant District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, and specially assigned by the Attorney General to the duty of taking such steps as might be thought necessary to the prosecution of offenders against the United States. In June, [illegible], the writer caused J. W. Tucker to be arrested, and brought before Benjamin Hickman, then United States Commissioner and Judge of the United States Circuit Court, on a charge of conspiracy. Various witnesses were examined, and finally a search warrant was applied for and issued, under the authority of which his office on Pine Street, between [illegible] and Fourth, was searched, his desk [illegible] and a number of valuable papers were found, among which was the letter from Gen. [illegible] to J. W. Tucker of the [illegible] in which he abuses Paschall [illegible] Missouri Republican, and [illegible] have been made [illegible] proceeding under the [illegible] excitement. The streets were [illegible] angry mob, and [illegible] to go back and [illegible] further [illegible] as much as [illegible] was worth to make the attempt. Tucker, after he was [illegible] bond in the sum of $10,000, and [illegible] the examination had lasted a few days, left the state and his bond was forfeited.

On the 14th of August martial law was declared in St. Louis, and Maj. McKinstry, then acting as Quartermaster, was appointed provost marshal. On the 30th of August Gen. Fremont, by a proclamation to that effect, declared martial law throughout the State of Missouri, but made no provision for officers and men to enforce it except in and around St. Louis.

On September 6 Brig. Gen. McKinstry was assigned temporarily as Quartermaster General of the Western department. On the [illegible] of September Gen. Fremont placed Col. F. P. Blair under arrest, and on the 20th appointed twenty-seven officers on his staff and organized a bodyguard, commanded by Maj. Zagoni, consisting of about 100 men, the exact number not recollected; and Gen. Fremont forced the paymaster to pay them, although it was an arm of the service not known to the army regulations, and purely of Gen. Fremont's invention.

On the 24th of September Brig. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis assumed command of the City of St. Louis and vicinity.

On the 14th of October, 1861, Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, came to St. Louis, visited Gen. Fremont's headquarters at Tipton, and made an order to stop the erection of field works around the city, to discontinue the erection of barracks near Fremont's quarters in the city, and ordered that the government debt of $4,500,000, which had been contracted in the Quartermaster's department in the city, should remain unpaid until it could be properly examined at Washington, and that no payment should be made to officers commissioned by Fremont until the appointments were approved by the President.

Shortly afterward a commission, consisting of the Hon. David Davis of Illinois, Hon. Joseph Holt of Kentucky and Hugh Campbell of St. Louis was appointed to examine into the military accounts of the Department of the West. Joseph S. Fullerton was secretary of the commission.

By order of the War Department, of the date of November 9, 1861, Gen. H. W. Halleck was placed in command of the Department of the Missouri; and on the 18th of November, Maj. Gen. Hunter, who remained in command as ranking officer of the department after the removal of Gen.

Fremont, relinquished his command to Gen. Halleck.

On the 3d of October Capt. George E. Leighton was assigned to duty as Provost Marshal of St. Louis and vicinity. In an order issued by him on December 4, 1861, he made a very important suggestion to the commanding officer, which was calculated very much to mitigate the severities of martial law. He says: "On the appointment to the position I hold I found the department greatly disorganized, and from the date of proclamation of martial law there has been exercised a very general jurisdiction over civil as well as military matters. Perhaps at first it was in a measure necessary, but if so, the necessity exists no longer; and it has been my aim by thorough organization to increase its efficiency, though operating with a less force, and disentangle it from all connection with civil matters, except in case of absolute necessity, and where it is believed the interests of the government imperatively required it." Col. Leighton found the affairs of the Provost Marshal's office in a very disordered condition, and did as much work in bringing order out of chaos as was done by any other officer in the state in any other department.

On December 4, 1861, by an order of that date Lieut. Col. B. G. Farrar was appointed Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri, and Captain George E. Leighton Provost Marshal of the City of St. Louis and its vicinity. On December 13 McKinstry arrived at St. Louis under arrest; he was tried by court-martial, found guilty and dismissed from the service.

In April, 1862, Gen. Halleck left for Corinth, Miss., Gen. J. M. Schofield being left in command of the greater part of the state. On the 10th of September, Col. T. T. Gantt was appointed to succeed Col. B. G. Farrar as Provost Marshal General, and Col. Gantt was relieved by Gen. Curtis on the 1st of November.

Gen. S. R. Curtis was next appointed in command of the Department of Missouri and Col. F. A. Dick was appointed Provost Marshal General, and on the 9th of March, 1863, Gen. Curtis was relieved from the command, and Maj. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner assigned to the command.

Gen. Sumner, on his way from the army of the Potomac to take charge of the Department of the Missouri, was taken sick and died at Syracuse, New York, on the 21st of March, 1863, having been in the military service of the country for forty-four years.

Gen. Schofield was then appointed to the command of the department on the 24th day of May, 1863. And on the 9th of June, 1863, Lieut. Col. James O. Broadhead was appointed Provost Marshal General of the department, which at that time consisted of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, the Indian Territory and Southern Iowa.

During the time he was acting as Provost Marshal letters were received from various persons in the department urging the trial of W. R. Straughn, who while acting as Provost Marshal of the military district commanded by Gen. McNeil, was charged with various offenses at Palmyra, particularly one connected with the shooting of twelve prisoners arrested for various acts of disloyalty, and then confined in the jail at Palmyra, and other offenses committed by him while he was in office as Provost Marshal. He was at this time out of the service, and the Provost Marshal General, learning that he was at Washington, D. C., sent a detective there to arrest him; he had left Washington, but was followed to Quincy, Ill., where he was arrested and brought thence to St. Louis, and a military commission organized for his trial. He was regularly tried by the commission, and found guilty of apporpriating money arising from the sale of some government horses, but not guilty of the offense charged in regard to his connection with the wife of one of the persons selected to be shot on the occasion. The case, however, was not brought before the commander of the department for its approval until after Gen. Rosecrans succeeded Gen. Schofield in command of the department, and Gen. Rosecrans disapproved the finding of the commission. When Straughn was arrested his trunk was taken from him and brought to the office of the Provost Marshal General, and opened. In it were found several counterfeit [illegible] of the names of the prisoners selected for execution at Palmyra and other miscellaneous papers, among which was one purporting to be the copy of an order issued to Jo Dudding, of Hannibal, which read as follows.

Office of District Provost Marshal, Hannibal, Mo.—Jo Dudding has the right t[illegible]

[illegible] constitutional [illegible] United States.

WILLIAM P. ST. ANGE,

President Marshal.

[illegible] succeeded Gen. Schofield [illegible] Department of Missouri, and it was during his administration that Gen. Price made his second raid into Missouri and advanced as far as from Pilot Knob to Lexington. It was thought that St. Louis was in danger, and a large army of citizen soldiers was formed to resist the attack.

On the 16th of July, 1863, the steamboat Imperial arrived at New Orleans from St. Louis without obstruction; and on the 23d of July S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, issued the following order:

Washington City, July 23, 1863.—To the Surveyor of Customs: Clear boats and cargoes, except of prohibited articles, for New Orleans, if desired, taking bonds not to land goods at intermediate points, except under permits authorized by existing regulations.

S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

For two years the navigation of the Mississippi had been substantially closed; the City of St. Louis was under martial law; passes were required to enable goods to be taken out or brought into the city; trade with the outside world crippled or substantially suspended; the state traversed by roving bands of guerrillas on the one part and undisciplined soldiers on the other, each [illegible] upon the unarmed, and non-combatant [illegible] of the interior, and each exercising their powers in different localities [illegible] lives and property of these [illegible] suspicion that the [illegible] or the other and [illegible] soldier [illegible] The story of [illegible] details has [illegible] Congress [illegible] the in [illegible] bounded [illegible] obtained the [illegible] more [illegible]

[illegible]

War between the States—Confederate History. The position of St. Louis as the [illegible] of a slave state was an anxious and trying one when hostilities commenced in the Civil War. In fact that condition applied to the whole State of Missouri, but to St. Louis, as the commercial center, it was more than a political disturbance, hazarding, [illegible], the destruction of her trade and commerce with that part of the South tributary to the Mississippi river, which she had so long been building up and enjoying. Consequently, for self-interest alone, her merchants and leading citizens were opposed to the country becoming involved in strife if by a conservative course it could be avoided. Of the population a large portion were of Southern origin, and whilst Missourians generally viewed with grave apprehension and disapproval the policy of secession, they had a warm sympathy with their old friends in their distress and disturbed condition. As has been said of the American revolution that "It was a war of argument long before it became a war of physical force," so the civil war was preceded by debates and discussions as to the powers of the general government and rights of the States, running back to the very foundation of the Union. In these controversies, the best minds and purest hearts of all sections were enlisted, and differences of opinion and judgment were maintained without dispute as to the honesty or patriotism of those engaging in them. The institution of slavery, a baleful heritage of both North and South, came however, to be a most disordant element of politics, at last alienating personal friendships, estranging families, dividing religious sects, and causing a war in which the lives of hundreds of thousands were sacrificed, millions of money expended, and from the dire effects of which the country has not yet recovered.

Liberty of thought under the Adams administration, with the alien and sedition laws in operation, was a sham and pretence. A member of Congress was imprisoned four months and fined $1,000 for saying the President had "an unbounded thirst for pomp and adulation," and many similar cases of tyranny occurred. They pointed to centralization of power. The Virginia Legislature, by the resolutions of 1797, written by Madison and endorsed by Jefferson, Patrick Henry and many other patriots of the Revolution, declared these

laws unconstitutional, and invited the other States to unite in resisting them. Kentucky went further and declared nullification the proper remedy. Both States viewed the constitution as a compact, and acts of Congress no further valid than as authorized by that instrument. From that period on the question of nullification and incidentally, of secession, had hinged upon the question whether the people collectively, or the people as represented through their State organizations, were the agents "forming a more perfect union." New York ratified the present constitution declaring "that the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary for their happiness," and language to the same effect was used by several other states. Chief Justice Marshall, one of the most ultra Federalists, averred that the majority for the constitution was so small in many instances that its intrinsic merits would not have served it had the influence of character in its favor been removed; and, in fact, in some of the States a majority was opposed to it. Hence it was the States, not the popular voice, that made the constitution.

With the defeat of the Adams party and the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency the Federalists dwindled to a mere band of self-selected leaders in Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. These leaders were secessionists, but believed the time not ripe. They sought a foothold through the election of Aaron Burr as Governor of New York in 1804, and but for the jealousy of Hamilton, Burr might have been elected and a Northern confederacy actually proposed, for up to this period there had been no question of the right of a State to secede.

In 1811, when Louisiana was an applicant for statehood, Joshiah Quincy of Massachusetts declared in the halls of Congress that her admission would free the other States from their alliance to the Union, and it would be a duty of some of them "to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must." Yet it was not until the war of 1812 that Northern nullification took material form. The Jay treaty of 1795 between England and the United States forbade the exportation from America of sugar, molasses, cotton and some other commodities. The alleged British right of search or impressment of American sailors was not disclaimed by it. It gave our rivers to England for free naviga- [illegible] the treaty was a temporizing expedient on both sides. When Mr. Jefferson, retaliating [illegible] peated British outrages on our vessels and other violations of the treaty of 1795, [illegible] England was greatly alarmed. Upon the passage of the Force bill by Congr[illegible] authorizing seizures on sea and land, New England pulpits, presses and rostrums thundered their residence. Three years later when the Southern war between Great Britain and the United States came on, almost precisely the same condition of affairs in relation to it prevailed in New England as existed in Missouri and Kentucky with reference to the Civil War in 1861. New England raised troops for the protection of her own soil, but refused to put them under the orders of the 100 members of the convention chosen by the people there was not a single avowed [illegible] national executive. Madison's Secretary of War declined to pay them, because the governors of the States held them as State militia. Josiah Quincy declared that Massachusetts soldiers would not march through Canada to defend Lake Champlain, and Governor Strong in a message to the Massachusetts Legislature January 1, 1814, avowed that the war was unreasonable, if not criminal. One branch of the Legislature held that no aid should be given until negotiations for peace had failed, while the other branch resolved that the people could not give encouragement to the war without being "obnoxious to the just retribution of Divine vengeance." Governor Griswold of Connecticut said the militia should not obey orders from a continental officer. Throughout New England this was the prevailing sentiment, and that section therefore, remained neutral. When, however, the city of Washington was captured by the British, the Hartford Convention was called to meet December 15, 1814, to consider what New England should do. But as in Missouri in 1861, the radicals in the movement were not the representatives chosen. [illegible] was its object, but the Ghent treat[illegible] was signed before the convention [illegible] portunity to proclaim its pur[illegible] members were sworn to [illegible] ord of the absurd constit[illegible] proposed. [illegible] veighed against t[illegible]

the newspapers were not suppressed, the banks were not subjected to forced loans, the militia were not marched off to Federal arsenals, symathizers with Great Britain were not assessed or banished beyond the lines, and iron-clad oaths of loyalty were not administered. It was left to the Civil War to produce these methods of conquering people holding opposite views to those in power and driving them into armed resistance.

At the time of the admission of Missouri to the Union in 1820, the mineral wealth and richness of the soil of the country bordering on the west of the Mississippi was already known and had attracted the attention of people liing in the old States. A tide of immigration set in and from the settlement and preemption of rich wide acres of the new territory it became apparent that it was a question of only a few years when the whole West would be populated and new States carved out of the vast domain acquired through the foresight of Jefferson. The fight therefore made against Missouri as a slave State by the North, not apparent at the time, had a wider range than simply her admission implied. There were millions of money invested in slaves.

Millions were yearly produced by their labor where white men could not be substituted or profitably employed. The attempt to abridge the right of ownership in slaves accordingly met with the strongest opposition and resistance. Agitation on either side begat opposition on the other, until the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, pledged against the admission of any more slave States, was seized upon as a declaration of hostility to the institution itself. Educated by the leading [illegible] of the South in the doctrine of the par- [illegible] States and fired by a [illegible] of injustice, the people of the "Cotton States" rebelled and set up an independent [illegible] the political religion [illegible] imbibed through years of self-interest and education by their leaders. They had been taught, too, that belief in the same doctrine was not confined to the South. Northern agitators had denounced the Constitution of the [illegible] "An agreement with death and [illegible] with hell," had been willing to "Let the Union slide," and referred in song [illegible] flag as "A flaunting lie." The [illegible] of the army had been quoted as willing [illegible] to the seceding States: "Wayward sisters, depart in peace." And there was an undercurrent of belief that if the South showed herself to be in full earnest as to separation, there might be a show of compulsion on the part of the remaining States, but nothing more.

The secession of South Carolina in December 1860, with the attendant enthusiasm throughout the cotton and sugar States, produced intense excitement and apprehension in the rest of the country. Our own State and city were filled with consternation. Missouri, with but few slaves, could not but feel her isolation, surrounded as she was on three sides by free States, and feeling a certainty that the United States Government would never give up the control of the Mississippi river. The Union sentiment largely predominated, but there was a prevailing opposition to war or coercion, the belief being general that some method of amicable settlement would present itself to prevent the impending disasters. A State convention was elected to meet at Jefferson City in February of 1861. In April 1861 President Lincoln made his requisition upon Governor Jackson for Missouri's quota of the 75,000 volunteers ordered to the field. To this the Governor responded with an emphatic negative. The demand and the response engendered intense feeling, the conservatives holding that in the embarrassing position of the border States the call might have been made on the country at large without reference to State lines. The loyalty of Missouri had been shown at the State election, held in the midst of the political excitement, wherein Bell received 58,370; Douglas, 58,800; Lincoln, 17,000, and Breckinridge, the avowed secession candidate, 31,317 votes; and if further evidence of the Union feeling were necessary, it could be pointed out that of the sionist, although three-fourths of them were born in slave States. This convention at once showed it was a conservative body by the selection as its presiding officer of ex-Governor Sterling Price, a pronounced Unionist, who had done all in his power to keep the State from joining the secession column. Were it not for the unfortunate events that subsequently transpired, his influence in the same direction would undoubtedly have prevented many a painful episode of the war. General Price was a man of commanding and dignified presence, his personal character was imbued with purity and uprightness, and his mind with lofty and generous impulses. He had the

confidence of thousands of his fellow citizens who received the intelligence of his election to preside over the convention with unfeigned satisfaction. On March 4, this body re-assembled in St. Louis, on the day of the inauguration of President Lincoln. It was composed of the foremost men in the State. The chairmanship of the committee on Federal Relations was awarded to Hamilton R. Gamble, an old and highly respected citizen of St. Louis, who afterwards was elected Provisional Governor. His committee soon reported for adoption resolutions taking strong grounds against secession, as set forth in the following language:

"That while Missouri cannot leave the Union to join the Southern States, we will do all in our power to induce them to again take their places with us in the family from which they have attempted to separate themselves. For this purpose we will not only recommend a compromise, with which they ought to be satisfied, but we will endeavor to procure an assembly of the whole family of States in order that in a general convention such amendments to the Constitution may be agreed upon as shall permanently restore harmony to the whole nation." They would entreat the Federal Government not to employ force against the seceding States, and the latter not to assail the government whilst this proposition is under consideration.

The first military steps taken in St. Louis by the government was early in January, 1861, when Jefferson Barracks was reinforced by regulars from Newport, Kentucky, and a few days afterward, the Custom House and Sub-Treasury were taken possession of by a squad of soldiers, the government funds being removed. The excitement caused by these and similar acts was such that it was deemed necessary to call a public meeting for the purpose of considering the issues then before the country. This was held on January 12, 1861, and the most patriotic resolutions were adopted with enthusiasm. They declared first the loyalty of the State to the Union, and secondly that it was the belief of the people that an adjustment of the differences between the States could be arrived at by the adoption of the "Crittenden Compromise," which required Congress to enforce the law for the return of fugitive slaves to their owners, protect the institution where it existed, and exclude it forever from the territory north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, adopted as the line in the Missouri Compromise. This meeting was not participated in by the unconditional Union men, who at first joined in the call made for the assemblage, they having had an inkling of the character of the resolutions that would be presented, and which they knew they had not the power to defeat, resolutions that merely favored giving to fifteen States of the Union all of their constitutional rights. Following this meeting came the call for the Union Convention and election of delegates spoken of before, that assembled first at Jefferson City and afterwards in St. Louis.

On April 13, the announcement of the firing on Fort Sumpter by the Confederates further intensified the excitement in the city, and in three days afterward a demand made by President Lincoln upon the Governor for four equipped regiments of men, to which a reply was sent that Missouri would not furnish a single man to subjugate the South. This positive answer was in keeping at the time with the peaceful feelings of the people, on every occasion expressed in resolutions adopted at public meetings.

During the political campaign of the summer and fall of 1860, the Republicans of the city had organizations called "Wide-Awakes," and the Democrats "Broom Rangers." These were the torch bearers and shouters that paraded through the streets of the city making "nights hideous." The election over and the political excitement continuing, the campaign clubs were disbanded, and military companies formed into which the members were enrolled—the Republicans into "Black Jaegers" and "Home Guards," and the Secessionists into "Minute Men."

An attempt was made by the members of the State Legislature, who sympathized with the movement of the South, to pass a measure for arming the State Militia, for the purpose, it was said, of enabling Missouri to maintain order, protect her people and their property, and make her influence among other States felt in their advocacy of peace. The measure was taken up and discussed on March 4, and was defeated, for the alleged r[illegible] that the Assembly being conservative di[illegible] wish to arm the citizens nor give the Governor, who was an outspoken Southern sympathizer, the power to involve the State in strife. Prior to this time, Henry Boernstein and other prominent Germans commenced the forma-

tion of Military Companies and soon had a dozen or more equipped. Of the German population of the city in those days, many were unnaturalized and for the most part ignorant of the language spoken by the majority of the people, and still more so of the formation of the government, the relationship of the disturbed States, or how the right of property in slaves was instituted. They were strangers, recently arrived from a foreign country, without relationship, kindred or friends in the revolting States. Through the means of emigration, many had escaped a short time previously from the rigors of enforced military service and oppression in their native land, and having in some degree a knowledge and [illegible] for military life and the power it gave, they embraced the opportunity presented by enrolling themselves as soldiers. It was not long before the peace and tranquilty of the whole city was disturbed by the haughty tramp of armed men in the streets. Irritation, friction and collisions followed between people of different views, to such an extent as to force many spirited men to leave their homes and business to become soldiers themselves to resist the oppression, which, as they thought, was being heaped upon the city.

Frank P. Blair was the moving spirit in this early military preparation to carry out the will of the party in power. He eagerly seized upon the opportunity to form an army, and proved to be a powerful factor in directing the movements of the unconditional Union men in this city. Being in close touch with the authorities at Washington, he understood their wishes, and carried out with ability all orders emanating therefrom. He was a man of gifted speech and understanding, attractive, impetuous, generous, forgiving, and a born leader of men. His conduct when the war was ended cannot be forgotten, in his efforts to have restored to the disfranchised citizens of the States the rights and liberties they were restrained from enjoying by bigotted politicians. Having formed the nucleus of a military command, he kept on recruiting and adding to this force until several regiments were formed and made ready for active measures.

In February, 1861, there appeared upon the scene Captain Nathaniel Lyon, an officer in the regular army, who was ordered from Kansas with his company [illegible] his arrival in the city was quartered at the Arsenal. He was born in Connecticut in 1819 and graduated at West Point in 1841. His experience in military matters was varied and extensive. He served in the Seminole War and the Mexican War, and also against the Indians in California and Oregon. The education received at the National Academy had a tendency to divert the attention of the students from the political problems and affiliations of the time, but he, unlike the old officers of his early days, was attracted by matters outside of military affairs. He found pleasure in contemplating the condition of the African slave and what was being done and agitated in the North for the amelioration of his condition; so that he became an abolitionist, in fact, fanatical on the subject. He must not, however, be misjudged, but regarded as a man urged onward by what he thought to be patriotic and worthy motives, for there was no one on either side of the conflict that proved more than he the courage of his convictions. He very soon gained the confidence of Blair and his associates, by his activity in strengthening the defences of the Arsenal and in organizing battallions and regiments from the raw recruits he found upon his arrival. His individuality and hatred of the South were instilled into his subordinates and he thereby created a partison soldiery for the enforcement of any measure deemed necessary to crush the peaceful and independent spirit of the people of the city and State, and force them to take sides one way or the other in the impending conflict.

The Department of Missouri was at this time under the command of General William S. Harney. It became soon apparent to Lyon and the other political soldiers that a man of Harney's mould, with such moderation and sense of justice, in all things, was a stumbling block in the way towards the accomplishment of their designs. His removal consequently was sought for and in a very short time accomplished. President Lincoln, knowing the loyalty and discretion of that distinguished soldier, seemed apprehensive of the result of such a change, and it was only after much hesitation upon his part that the orders were issued whereby Lyon and his friends became possessed of the power they yearned for, and which they put in execution without delay.

The nightmare, whether real or feigned,

which disturbed the military dreams of the unconditional Union men, was the fear that an attack upon the Arsenal was contemplated by the secessionists of the city. Lyon on his arrival was told of these apprehensions, and he straightway saw the opportunity it offered for ousting the conservative commandant of that post. He was thoroughly informed upon the status of the city by his spies and detectives. The name and movements of every secessionist in the city were known to him, and if asked to do so, he could not have picked from his list the names of a sufficient number of men with the necessary determination and willingness to attack the arsenal; in fact, they did not exist at that time in this city or vicinity. The secessionists upon the streets could not attempt it; the immature organization called "Minute Man," undrilled and unarmed, certainly would not do so when without a chance of success before them. Anxious as the secessionists may have been to become possessed of the arms and ammunition at the Arsenal, they certainly made no attempt to get together an adequate force for their capture. All this was apparent to the Major in command of the Arsenal, who told Lyon when addressed by him on the subject that nothing up to that time had occurred in the city which could make an attempt of the kind possible still, Blair and Lyon would have it that some unseen and mysterious foe was ready to attempt the task.

In 1858, a law was passed by the State Legislature authorizing the formation of a militia and the mustering and encamping of the same in each military district, annually, for a few days; but no provision was made in the way of appropriations to meet the necessary expenses. This drawback was met in St. Louis by subscriptions. In 1860 enough money was obtained to purchase the necessary equipment for a camp, and one was formed in the grounds of the Fair Association, where accommodation was furnished in tents for the few military companies that then existed in the city. It was named Camp Lewis, after the explorer. The military companies had in their ranks some of the city's best and most prominent young men; they had their private armories wherein they drilled. These organizations had no other object in view than mutual enjoyment and companionship. On public days they appeared upon the streets in military array with bands of music, banners and bright uniforms, and where as dashing a set of soldiers as ever won the smile of beauty. That period was peaceful and patriotic. The memory of Washington was revered and his birthday celebrated by our citizen soldiery in a becoming manner, contrasting these degenerate times, that have either forgotten the event, or displaced it with the worship of more modern heroes.

Camp [illegible] afforded a great deal of pleasure to the numerous visitors, who witnessed the daily drill and parade, and was a revelation to many who never had the opportunity of seeing an encampment of soldiers or the maneuvers of so many uniformed men. In the succeeding twelve months, several new companies were [illegible] 1860, [illegible] the [illegible] was known at that time as Lindell Grove. It was a delightful camping ground, having many large forest trees affording grateful shade that was enjoyed by both officers and men after the fatiguing exercises of the drill. The grounds were also of easy access from the business center and reached by a street railway that terminated a short distance away. It was named Camp Jackson, after the Governor of the State. It was bounded north by Olive, south by Laclede, east by Compton and west by Grand Avenues. At this day, the whole area is completely built up, and no one could realize the change that has taken place in the features of that historic ground, but those who have witnessed the marvelous growth of our city, and few of this day reflect on the events that occurred there and their consequences. It was there that war in Missouri began. It was there the blood of innocent men and women was shed by Lyon's troops without real cause. A month prior to this occurrence the country was horrified at the action of a mob at Baltimore in assembling and killing soldiers from Massachusetts, who were simply passing through [illegible] But [illegible] dreamed that the next [illegible] Washington Street would be [illegible] peaceful citizens, and shed [illegible] of United States soldiers [illegible] in other parts of the [illegible] sympathies [illegible] 1861 [illegible] the military lines [illegible]

established, tents pitched and everything provided for the comfort of the men. For the headquarters of the General there was pitched a large marquee in front of which flo ed the stars and stripes, and the State flag. The camp became for the short time it was allowed to exist the resort of the fashionable people of the city, and all classes found agreeable recreation in witnessing the military exercises that took place each day. Upon May 6, the Brigade assembled on Washington Avenue and marched to the camp ground. The following names are those of commanding officers and staff, regimental Commanders and officers of companies.

Brigadier Gen. D. M. Frost, Commanding; Major Robert Voorhis, Judge Advocate and Assistant Adjutant General, Major John L. Anderson, P. M., Major Jos. F. Scott Surgeon, Major M. D. Wood, Aide-de-Camp, Major Henry W. Williams, Q. M., Major Nich. Wall, Commissary.

First Regiment.—Lieut.-Col., John Knapp, Commanding; Capt. W. C. Buchanan Adjutant, Capt. A. J. P. Garesche, Judge Advocate, Capt. L. S. Hatch Commissary and Acting Q. M., Capt. Louis Pim Surgeon, Capt. John Drew P. M.

Company A. "St. Louis Greys" Martin Burke, Captain, S. O. Coleman, 1st Lieutenant, H. B. Belt, 2d Lieutenant, R. V. Leonori, 3d Lieutenant and 57 men.

Company B. "Sarsfield Guards." Charles L. Rogers Captain, Thomas Curley 1st Lieut., Hugh McDermott 2d Lieutenant and 47 men.

Company C., "Washington Guards." Patrick Gorman Captain, Robert Tucker 1st Lieutenant, Thomas Mozlaw 2d Lieutenant, Cornelius Heffernan 3d Lieutenant and 75 men.

Company D., Emmet Guards. Philip Coyne Captain, Edw. O'Byrne 1st Lieutenant, Martin Parks 2d Lieutenant, Joseph Shields 3d Lieutenant and 70 men.

Company E., "Washington Blues." Joseph Kelly Captain, F. M. Furbar 1st Lieut. John R. Drew 2d Lieutenant, Daniel Woods 3d Lieutenant and 42 men.

Company F., "Laclede Guards." W. H. Fraser Captain, Stephen McBride 1st Lieutenant, John Thomas 2d Lieutenant, John Henderson 3d Lieutenant and 43 men.

Company G., "Missouri Guards." George W. West Captain, Sol Scott, Jr. 1st Lieutenant, A. Bernoudy 2d Lieutenant, F. W. Roberts 3d Lieutenant and 48 men.

Company H., "Jackson Guards." I. W. Wachter Captain, John W. Hennessy 1st Lieutenant, John M. Mooney 2d Lieutenant, John Bullock 3d Lieutenant and 42 men.

Company I., "Grimsley Guards." B. Newton Hart Captain, Thomas Keith 1st Lieutenant, Robert Finney 2d Lieutenant, John Cross 3d Lieutenant and 47 men.

Company K., "Davis Guards." Emile Longuemare Captain, Louis T. Kretchmar 1st Lieutenant, A. H. Hopton 2d Lieutenant, Jules J. Leduc 3d Lieutenant and 54 men.

Second Regiment. Colonel John S. Bowen Commanding, Lieut-Col. Early A. Stein Maj., James A. Shaler Captain, Thos. Floyd Smith Adjutant, Captain J. B. Cates P. M., Cap. A. J. McGinnis A. M. Capt. C. N. Hawes Surgeon, Captain James Quinlan Commissary.

Engineer Corps.—"National Guards." W. B. Hasteline Capt. W. H. Finney 1st Lieutenant, Charles Perrine 2d Lieutenant, John M. Gilkerson 3d Lieutenant and 65 men.

Company A., "Independent Guards." C. H. Frederick Captain, R. B. Clark 1st Lieut., C. McDonnell 2d Lieutenant, O. A. Collins 3d Lieutenant and 40 men.

Company B., O. W. Barrett Captain, L. H. Kennerly 1st Lieutenant, Edward Blennerhassett 2d Lieutenant, T. S. Russell 3d Lieutenant and 53 men.

Compay C., "Missouri Videttes." B. W. Duke Captain, J. M. Douglass 1st Lieutenant, A. C. Howard 2d Lieutenant, J. V. Smith 3d Lieutenant and 44 men.

Company D., "McLaren Guards." J. W. Sanford Captain, Sam'l Farrington 1st Lieut., Henry Jenkins 2d Lieutenant, R. W. Duffy 3d Lieutenant and 70 men.

Company E., Colton Green Captain, Chas. Throckmorton 1st Lieutenant, R. H. Harrington 2d Lieutenant, Alton Long, Jr. 3d Lieut. and 45 men.

Company F., "Jackson Grays." Hugh A. Garland Captain, I. "Rock" Champion 1st Lieutenant, W. C. P. Carrington 2. Lieutenant, W. C. Potter 3d Lieutenant and 62 men.

Company G., G. Campbell Captain, R. R. Hutchinson 1st Lieutenant, W. M. Maginnis 2d Lieutenant, A. Julius Ham 3d Lieutenant and 53 men.

Company H., "Southern Guards." I. J. Shackelford Captain, J. L. Buskitt 1st Lieu-

lenant, J. S. Dean 2d Lieutenant, D. T. Samuels 3d Lieutenant and 62 men.

Company I., "Carondelet Guards." James M. Longborough Captain, David Walker 1st Lieutenant, Edward Haren 2d Lieutenant, E. C. Pitcher 3d Lieutenant and 40 men.

On May 7 the battalion from the southwest expedition arrived in St. Louis and marched direct to the Camp, composed as follows:

Cavalry W., Clark Kennerly, Major.

Troop A., Captain Staples and Lieutenant Fairbanks.

Troop B., Lieutenant A. McFarland.

Troop C., Captain Emmet McDonald, Thos. Curley First Lieutenant, Thomas McCarthy 2d Lieutenant.

Artillery, Captain Henry Guibor, W. P. Barlow 1st Lieutenant, Rudolph Weber 2d Lieutenant.

In all Numbering rank and file as follows:

Staff	7
First Regiment	581
Second Regiment	582
Southwest Battalion	68
Total enrolled	1238

There were not more than 650 rank and file in the camp when it was taken; the rest were away on leave, for the most part attending to their private affairs and business. The First Regiment, commanded by Colonel John Knapp, had comparatively few members who were at all tinctured with secession sentiments; the companies, together with that of the National Guard or Engineer Company, were for the most part, the old organizations that had for a long time existed in the city and had participated the year previous in Camp Lewis.

The Second Regiment, commanded by Col. Jno. S. Bowen, were mostly so-called "Minute men" enrolled from the marching clubs of the political campaign of the, previous fall consisting chiefly of immature young men, with no fixed political opinions, who joined the command for nothing more than the good time it might afford them. The Colonel and many of his officers were heart and soul secessionists and organized the regiment with the view of assisting in carrying out the views and policy of Governor Jackson, who never screened his Southern proclivities; but their hands were tied by the General Assembl[illegible] failing to pass appropriation bills for the arming the militia. General Frost, who commanded the camp and was the "Brigadier" for this milit[illegible] district, appointed by the Governor, was not regarded at that time as a secessionist, although a strong southern sympathizer, nor known to be in such political affiliation with his Excellency; but subsequent events made [illegible] one another. If, however, either of them supposed that the troops at the camp could be used to carry the State out of the Union, they reckoned without their host. Of the First Regiment at least three-fourths of the men were in camp for pleasure only, and of the Second Regiment many were unarmed and through their inexperience wholly unreliable.

On Wednesday night, May 8, a steamboat, the "J. C. Swon," landed at the lev[illegible] ing on board arms and ammunition that had been taken and shipped from the [illegible] States Arsenal at Baton Rouge. The General, on being notified of the arrival, had that part of the cargo conveyed to Camp Jackson and it remained there unpacked up to the time of the surrender. It can be safely said there were not two hundred men in the camp who knew where the packages came from, what they were, or anything about them. It appears the Governor, seeing the futility of making an attempt upon the Arsenal without an adequately equipped force, and being without funds to purchase, made a requisition on the Confederate government for military supplies, and what arrived on the Steamer Swon was in response to it. Had it been delayed for four days the encampment would have been over, and Lyon deprived thereby of the excuse to show his power. He saw his opportunity and embraced it. It exhibited very little practical sense or knowledge of the situation, and was a grave mistake to bring within the confines of the Camp property that had been captured from the Government by the Confederates and by them forwarded to this city. From the disaster that followed its arrival, it might be termed the 'fatal shipment," and why its delivery was not made at Jeffer[illegible] the Governor in person is a questi[illegible] cannot be answered.

The indiscretion of recei[illegible] riel at the camp was the [illegible] sorrow to many in this [illegible] at large; it was instrum[illegible]

of forcing people to declare their affiliations, either to leave their homes and take up arms, or if disqualified by age for service, to be put in jail, banished or assessed at the will of any provost marshal, who wished to avenge some old personal grievance, or with contemptible arrogance show his power. The receiving of these contraband goods gave Lyon and Blair the opportunity to proclaim an overt act had been committed against the government, and the flying of the United States flag over the encampment was a sham and deceit. With this conception of affairs, it was very easy to denounce the camp as a treasonable one, and form a plan for its immediate seizure. When this act was proposed to the "Committee of Safety," composed as it was of citizens distinguished for their uprightness in private life, it met with opposition, which was easily overcome by asserting that all Southern sympathizers should be made to acknowledge the Federal authority. The property of the Government should be retaken, and as General Harney, who had been in Washington for some time, away from his military district, was on his way back to St. Louis to resume his command, it was necessary to act at once while Lyon had authority, and not wait for the arrival of the General, who might take a different view of affairs and interfere with their plans. Consequently the attacking force was put in motion on the afternoon of May 10, and their designs accomplished.

General Frost became aware of the resolution formed by the authorities at the Arsenal, and on the morning of May 10, he addressed a note to Captain Lyon, which was carried to him by Colonel J. S. Bowen, inquiring whether there was any truth in the rumor then in circulation. He set forth the lawfulness of the camp, that no hostility was intended towards the United States, and said he was at a loss to [illegible] ation could be offered for [illegible] in performing a [illegible] upon them. Captain Lyon absolutely refused to receive the communication and Colonel Bowen returned with it unopened. He reported the preparations he saw in progress, and had no doubt of Lyon's resolution to march upon the camp that day. General Frost, after a consultation with his officers, came to the conclusion that with only a handful of men in the camp poorly equipped for war, and with only a few [illegible] of ammunition [illegible] successful opposition could be made against the superior forces under the command of Captain Lyon. There was nothing to be done, therefore, but await results. That afternoon, Captain Lyon approached the camp with a large force of infantry and artillery, Colonel Blair's regiment by the way of Laclede Avenue; Boernstein's up Pine Street; Schuttner's up Market Street; Sigel's up Olive Street; Brown's up Morgan; and McNeil's up Clark Avenue. Captain Lyon himself marched at the head of a battalion of regulars. Artillery was placed on adjoining elevations and the various regiments being timed arrived at their several destinations and had the camp surrounded simultaneously. There assembled an immense crowd of people who were attracted by news of the contemplated capture, stationing themselves in the vicinity at what they regarded a safe distance and out of harm's way. When the cordon was complete, Capt. Lyon sent a note to General Frost demanding the unconditional surrender of the Camp, setting forth that Frost was in communication with the Southern Confederacy, and receiving war material therefrom that was the property of the United States Government, "having in direct view hostilities to the general government and co-operation with its enemies." Half an hour was given him to make up his mind. Frost therefore, after a hurried consultation with his officers, came to the unwilling conclusion that there was nothing left for him to do but surrender his command, in view of the fact that he was surrounded by at least five thousand thoroughly equipped organized men, fully determined upon the capture and humiliation of himself and those under him. His own command numbered at the time not more than 650 men poorly armed and not by any means in a war condition, and consequently it would have been a piece of reckless cruelty and folly to his men to have attempted resistance. Before the expiration of the time allotted to him, he addressed a note to Capt. Lyon protesting against the unconstitutional demand made upon him, and being "wholly unprepared to defend his command from the unwarranted attack, he was forced to comply." The militia, therefore, became prisoners of war. An offer was made to release at once all those who would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and swear not to take arms against the government. These terms were accepted by less than a dozen, the

others declining to take the prescribed oath, on the grounds that as they had already sworn allegiance to the government, repeating it would be only an admission that they were its enemies, and as they never occupied such a position it would be anomalous and absurd to do so.

The regulars took possession of the Camp and all it contained, and after the militia had stacked their arms they were marched out as prisoners, upon the Olive Street Road, as it was called at that time. Lyon's command was drawn up facing the prisoners in line of battle extending east and west. After marching but a short distance a halt was ordered, and without any apparent reason both the troops and prisoners were kept standing for two or three hours before the march was resumed. In the meantime, crowds of men, women and children kept accumulating and gathering as near as they could get to the prisoners. The whole city was intensely excited and the long halt enabled the crowd to give vent to insulting remarks and criticism directed against the Germans, and as the excitement grew, it is said a pistol was fired and dirt and stones thrown at them. This treatment exasperated those raw and undisciplined men to such a pitch that they in retaliation began firing at the people and as the crowd fled poured volley after volley at them, which resulted in the blood of about ninety persons being shed, fifteen of whom lay dead upon the ground, including a babe in its mother's arms. Of the wounded many afterwards died. It was a dreadful act and unworthy of the men wearing the insignia of the government. Had the whole range of foul language of both the English and German tongues been heaped upon them, it could not be offered or accepted as an excuse for shedding the blood of women and children.

It becoming evident that further delay of the march would result in more bloodshed, the column was again put in motion, the position of the prisoners being between two continuous lines of infantry. They were marched to the arsenal and next day released on parole. In speaking of the derision heaped upon the heads of the soldiers by the promiscuous crowd in the vicinity of the camp, it may be also said that the language used could hardly have equalled the vileness and intensity of abuse received by the prisoners from the tongues of the people living on the line of march to the Arsenal. On the 10th of May, two squads of men under command respectively of Basil [illegible] and [illegible] avoided capture by being ordered to proceed by that morning's Missouri Pacific train to the Gasconade and Osage bridges for the purpose of guarding them. When the news of the capture of the camp reached Jefferson City, orders were at once given for the destruction of the Osage bridge, which effectually cut off the advance of troops by rail on the State Capital.

On the day following the capture, a large body of Lyon's troops moved from the Arsenal north to the center of the city in a sort of triumphal march, with what object was not known unless it was to overawe the city. At Walnut and Fifth Streets, and again at Seventh, near Olive, they were jeered by a lot of boys or reckless men, and firearms were discharged, which were responded to by volleys from the muskets of some of the soldiery without orders. More blood was shed, several citizens being severely wounded. The incident seemed to add fresh fuel to the flame of excitement. At night, a mob was again or- [illegible] was made to secure arms from a gun store on Main Street, which, however, was frustrated by Mayor Taylor and Chief McDo[illegible] a force of policemen. The following day, Sun- [illegible] was a most memorable one. Citizens who could get out of town employed every kind of vehicles and departed in terror. Women were hysterical and children were panic stricken. The exodus continued all day midst the wildest rumors of what the "Black Jae- [illegible] intending, and was only stayed when it became known that General Harney had taken command of the soldiery and proclaimed his purpose of protecting the city against riot and lawlessness. The return of this officer from Washington on the day after the capture of Camp Jackson, so quieting an [illegible] was a great disappointment to Lyon and his advocates. They at once used all their influence at Washin[illegible] to have him permanently retired, and in a week received from the War Departmen[illegible] necessary orders, with a letter [illegible] the President to General Blai[illegible] doubt of the propriety of th[illegible] recting that it be withheld u[illegible] necessity demand[illegible]

[illegible] withheld until [illegible]

[illegible] events did more [illegible] against [illegible] than anything that could have [illegible] hitherto [illegible] of [illegible] nstrations of most arbitrary [illegible] In [illegible] d [illegible] in strength to cope with these very same troops, meet them in battle and defeat them with great loss. This occurred on August 10, 1861, at Wilson's Creek. The fight was a terrific one and Gen. Lyon was killed while leading his men into action. Like the fearless soldier that he was, he ended his career in battle with his [illegible] the enemy.

The conservative citizens of the city and State became thoroughly alarmed at the preparations being made for war, both here and [illegible] that something [illegible] done to prevent a conflict and maintain the neutrality of the state, Gen. Harney invited Gen. Price to St. Louis to talk over the situation and endeavor to agree upon some plan for the preservation of peace and order. Gen. Price had been appointed by the [illegible] Major General of the State Militia. On May 21, these two liberal-minded men met in this city and entered into an agreement that peace and order would be maintained in the State in "subordination to the laws of the [illegible] vernments," and if this [illegible] clared there would [illegible] r military movements in the [illegible] this declaration [illegible] the people with [illegible] uld against the tribula- [illegible] war. On the contrary, [illegible] Lyon, and on May 31 there was delivered to General Harney the [illegible] according to the [illegible] for his [illegible] the same day as the one removing his rival. General Har- [illegible] discomfiture or disappointment, but with [illegible] ably a happy feeling of release from complica- [illegible] Thus ended the peace measures from which the State expected so much.

Gen. Harney was in all things an ideal soldier, a noble type of manhood, warm-hearted, unselfish and brave to the last degree. He served his country for over forty years in every military position, from Lieutenant to Major General, and in all that time his conduct was marked by courage, wisdom and ability. He [illegible] indulged in intemperance of any kind, [illegible] in that trait was remarkable among men [illegible] which may be attributed [illegible] ngevity. He was six feet three inches tall and retained to the last the soldierly erect- [illegible] of his figure. He died in 1889, having attained the remarkable age of eighty-nine [illegible]

[illegible] was [illegible] itement in the city and State when the news of the removal of Gen. Harney was received, with the installation of Gen. Lyon in his stead. Still Gen. Price hoped that so far as Missouri was concerned, some specific solution of her position could be arrived at. It was quite apparent that whatever could be done to that end had to be accomplished without delay, and with this in view, both the Governor and Gen. Price sought a conference with Gen. Lyon, which was arranged by friends and took place on June 11, at the Planters' House, in this city. Those present at that interview were Governor Jackson, Gen. Sterling Price and Col. Tho [illegible] L. Sneed on one side, and Gen. Lyon, [illegible] Blair and Major H. J. Conant on the other. It was proposed by the governor that for the purpose of peace and the tranquility of the State, both the State and Federal Militia organizations be disbanded—that is, the Home Guards and State Militia. He pledged that no munitions of war should be brought into the State; that he would protect all citizens equally in their rights regardless of political opinions; suppress all insurrectionary movements; preserve a strict, neutrality and maintain the peace and order of the inhabitants, thereby averting the desolating consequences of civil war within the State. The discussion of these matters lasted several hours, and was abruptly [illegible] teminated by Gen. Lyon, who, rising from his chair, and with his finger pointed in turn at the State's representative, said that sooner than concede to the State for a single instant the right to dictate to his government he would [illegible] and you, and you, and every man, [illegible] and child in the State dead and buried;

and this means war." The conference ended at once, and the Governor and staff returned to the Capital as speedily as possible. The governor issued a proclamation and war sure enough followed. From that time on, the life of the secessionist or southern sympathizer who remained in this city was a hard one. Gratiot Street prison or banishment surely awaited those who could not restrain their tongues, and if possessed of wealth the a[illegible]ment of their property.

The historian, Lecky, has said of the A[illegible]can Revolution that "it was the work of an energetic minority who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating ma[illegible] to causes for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a posi[illegible] which it was impossible to recede." This remark holds good in regard to the conservatives on both sides in the Civil War, who were neither coercionists nor secessionists at heart, who were lovers of the Union, who condemned fraternal strife, but who were finally forced by surrounding circumstances into positions abhorrent or distasteful.

Many of the officers and soldiers of the dispersed Camp Jackson, who espoused the Southern cause from their personal inclination, as well as those who by the actions of the Federal authorities were turned against the government and forced to take sides, soon left the city singly and in small squads, either to join the forces then being organized under the call of the Governor or to go directly to Confederate lines. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the Federals and their threatening proclamations, a company was enrolled and formed in St. Louis for service in the South by young men living in Carondelet and vicinity. It was quietly organized at Georgetown, now changed to Sappington, on the Gravois Road, a short distance from the old farm of Gen Grant. John G. Kelly was elected Captain; James Peterson First Lieutenant; and Joseph Pitkin Second Lieutenant. It is believed that this was the only attempt made to recruit a company for the South in, or very near, the city. To successfully carry out the risky undertaking when the feeling of the people was at so high a pitch, and the military so vigilant, great secrecy had to be maintained to avoid a sojourn in Gratiot Street Prison. It was found when the company was organized that some of the members had no horses. Consequently, they were left behind to provide themselves, which they soon did and followed the main body to New Madrid. The first move of the company was made by night to Big River, where it bivouaced under the trees in [illegible] he arrival fr[illegible] n. Meriwether Lewis Clark, as by prior [illegible] rity, under the circums[illegible] uselessness of his staying there, he [illegible] withdrew from it on a dark and rainy night [illegible] Maj. W. Clark Kennerly, and Dr. Bryan. When [illegible] the oath necessary to enroll the company in the St[illegible] Guard. It had been reported that Gen. Hardee was moving north into Missouri [illegible] way of Doniphan with a small army; to meet him was the purpose of Gen. Clark and the march was directed to that end. At Doniphan, it was found that Gen. Hard[illegible] had reached that place, but had been ordered back to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where a large army was being concentrated. It was a great disappointment to all, and the only course left for Gen. Clark to pursue was to follow him, at least to New Madrid. A dreary march was made through the swamps of southern Missouri to that place. After some consideration, Gen. Clark decided to go on to Richmond, Virginia, direct, and secure a commission in the regular Confederate army. Captain J. G. Kelly's company then joined the [illegible] f Gen. Jeff. Thompson. Col. John [illegible] cated himself at Memphis and [illegible] Many of his men from the Camp Jackson regiment [illegible] him, and in about two months' time [illegible] panies, which was named the First Regiment of Missouri Infantry, C. S. A. Tl[illegible] was constantly drilled in the tactics of Hardee, and received thorough [illegible] the field officers who were We[illegible] also from some of the other [illegible] of them were grad[illegible]

always regarded as the crack regiment of the command, a dearly bought distinction in times of active and aggressive service, for it is well understood that any regiment bearing it,must hold itself in readiness for the performance of arduous duty requiring pluck and fortitude. From the disasters that befell that noted regiment in the loss of so many of its brave men in battle, it is easy to perceive that promotions were frequent and followed every engagement it participated in. As an example of this, when it emerged from the bloody battle at Franklin, Tennessee it was shattered and wrecked. Col. Hugh A. Garland was killed and but three officers were left for duty, a captain and two lieutenants; the loss in non-commissioned officers and men was in proportion. If the changes of officers and the promotions in the regiment are not followed up and given here, it will be a satisfaction to preserve the names of the first set of gallant officers by inserting them in this history of the city, as many of them will be recognized and St. Louisians. They were as follows:

John S. Bowen, Colonel; Lucius L. Rich, Lieutenant-Colonel; Charles C. Campbell, [illegible]; Louis H. Kennerly, Adjutant; William F. Haines, Quartermaster; James M. Quinlan, Commissary; Carey N. Hawes, Surgeon; Joseph Reynolds Assistant Surgeon.

[illegible] A., Captain J. Kemp Sprague, Lieutenants Walsh, Joseph Bass and Dudley Walsh.

Company B., Captain Robert J. Duffy, Lieutenants William McArthur, Gregory [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible], Capt. [illegible] Hirsch, Lieutenants [illegible], David Walker and Gay Smith.

Company D., Captain Martin Burke, Lieutenants Louis H. Kennerly, W. C. P. Caving[illegible].

[illegible], Captain Olin F. Rice, Lieutenants James Pritchard, Joseph Dean and L. [illegible].

Company F., Captain Hugh A. Garland, Lieutenants John Douglass, Randolph R. Hutchinson and Smith N. Hawes.

Company G., Captain Philips, Lieutenants A. C. Reilly, Wash Dawson and Joseph Hargatte.

Company H., Captain Gordon, Lieutenants Gordon, James McKarland and Yorger.

Company I. Captain Hogan, Lieutenants Bradford Keith, Noah Stewart and Sam Kennerly.

Company K., Captain Avery, Lieutenants Charles L. Edmondson, Knight and James Dougherty.

Colonel Bowen was promoted to Brigidier General immediately after the organization of the regiment. The battle of Shiloh was the first fight it engaged in and it lost in killed 48, and in wounded and missing, 159. Among the officers killed was its Colonel, Rich, Captain Sprague, Lieutenant Hargatte, James Dougherty and Jos. Dean, and those wounded Maj. Campbell, Captain Quinlan, Captain Duffy, Lieutenant Lewis H. Kennerly, Lieutenant Carrington, Lieutenant Hawes and Lieutenant Joseph Boyce. Among the privates wounded was Joseph T. Donovan, a name familiarly and favorably known.

Besides Shiloh the regiment participated in the first and second fights at Corinth, Grand Gulf, Port Gibson, Champion Hills, Big Black, Siege of Vickburg, Rome, Kenesaw Mountain, Marietta, Atlanta, Altoona, and in the bloody fight at Franklin, Tennessee. It finally surrendered at Fort Blakely near Mobile April 9, 1865. Were it not for the foresight of the historian of the regiment, Captain Boyce, in taking full notes of events, and in preserving them, the facts regarding this regiment and its exploits could not be rel[illegible], even to the limited extent here given.

General Bowen, when promoted, appointed a staff composed of Captain R. R. Hutchinson, Assistant Adjutant General; Capt. W. A. Percy Assistant Inspector General; Capt. W. F. Haynes Quartermaster; Capt. James Quinlin Commissary and Capt. Frank Carter Aide-de-Camp.

Major General Bowen was a Georgian by birth and a West Point graduate. Sometime before the war he resigned his commission in the regular army and took up his residence in this city as an architect. During the siege of Vicksburg he was a very sick man and died soon after the surrender of the place. Fortunately, he was consoled and comforted by the presence of his devoted and faithful wife, who nursed him with the utmost care until the end came. He was a gallant officer and, had he lived, would without doubt have added many laurels to those he had already won.

Henry Guibor and W. P. Barlow remained in St. Louis after the Camp Jackson affair,

undecided as to their future movements, but desired to remain with their families if it was possible for them to do so without being disturbed. They, however, were not kept long in doubt, as it soon came to their ears they were to be arrested on some pretext by the Federals. Without further hesitation, they left the city very quietly and by an overland march joined Gov. Jackson's army on the retreat from Boonville, and at once organized what was known in the war as Guibor's Battery, which became distinguished. Its first officers were Captain Henry Guibor, First Lieutenant W. P. Barlow, Second Lieutenant William Corcory. At Springfield, Captain Guibor received authority to go direct to Memphis for the purpose of getting a fully equipped battery from the Confederate Government, and he proceeded to that place, where he met Gen. D. M. Frost who had arrived from St. Louis with about eighty of the Camp Jackson men. The capture of General Mulligan and his command at Lexington by Gen. Price enabled an exchange to be made for the Camp Jackson prisoners, and consequently all who were paroled at the Arsenal were by these circumstances released. Capt. Guibor's new battery partly manned by these new arrivals marched overland to Gen. Price, and at the battle of Elkhorn it ascended the first step on the ladder of fame. At one time during this fight, its position became hazardous by a flank movement of the enemy's infantry and was only saved from probable capture by the daring deed of Captain Rock Champion and his company of cavalry, in charging the enemy and cutting through their line and back again, which threw them into confusion and they retreated. Captain Champion lost two killed and seven wounded. It was a brilliant event, and no one but a dashing, daring soldier would have attempted it. Rock Champion and Sam Farrington were remarkable for their disregard of danger and its consequences, and few if any in the army of General Price displayed or felt such romantic enjoyment as they did in being where the rattle and din of battle was the fiercest. Soldiers usually are impelled forward, kept in position by a sense of duty, but not so with the heroes named. They, from the very love of it, dashed into the fray, seemingly with no apprehension of any result but victory.

After the battle of Shiloh, General Price received orders to reenforce the army of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and moved his command down White river to Memphis and thence to Corinth. Guibor's Battery was then attached to General Little's division and participated in the engagement of Iuka and Corinth. Afterward, the Battery was assigned to Gen. Bowen's division and did gallant service at Grand Gulf and in all the fights around Vicksburg, as also in the defense of that place.

Wade's Battery was organized at Memphis by Capt. William Wade, of this city. His first lieutenant was Sam Farrington; Second Lieutenant Richard Walsh; and Third Lieutenant, James Barron. He received his guns and equipment from the Confederate government and marched across the country to join Gen. Price at Springfield. He was a participant in all the engagements that followed in Missouri and accompanied Price to Corinth, where his Battery was assigned to Little's Division, and did gallant service at [illegible] Corinth, also with General Bowen at Grand Gulf and the other battles preceding the investment of Vicksburg. During the protracted siege, his men and animals, like the rest, suffered [illegible] and [illegible]. Barrett's Battery, the Tenth Missouri, may be regarded also as a St. Louis contribution to the Confederacy. Many Camp Jackson men joined it at Memphis, where it was organized. Its captain was Overton W. Barrett, a brother of Richard Barrett, known as "Missouri Dick," who at the breaking out of the war, represented this district in Congress. First Lieutenant, Edward Blennerhassett, whose father was a distinguished member of the bar of this city; Second Lieutenant, [illegible] Lightner and Third Lieutenant, William Brown.

The name of General Henry Little is irrevocably bound up and associated with the soldiers of Missouri. He was a captain in the old army and well remembered as an officer with a promising future in the early days of Jefferson Barracks, when Grant, Hancock and other officers who afterwards distinguished themselves were quartered there, in the city he was a guest at all the [illegible] events of the time. After war had [illegible] clared in the state by Gen. Lyon, [illegible] his commission and joined Gen. Pri[illegible] Gen. [illegible] for the [illegible] the organization of the Misso[illegible] His military knowledge was of the gr[illegible] service [illegible]

[illegible] brigadier from Richmond, and after the [illegible] Price crossed over the Mississippi [illegible] east side, he was given the command [illegible] a division of four brigades. He was [illegible] of Maryland, his father having represented that state in Congress. He entered [illegible] army when quite young and served in it [illegible] period of eighteen years. Gen. Little [illegible] and modest man, was a thorough soldier, with innate bravery. He had acquired the knowledge and accomplishments of his profession by study and long service. He was an industrious commander, devoting [illegible] to the education of his officers, [illegible] the men, and the general welfare [illegible] comfort of his command. His staff was composed as follows: Captain Wright Schaumburg Assistant Adjutant General; [illegible] John G. Kelly Assistant Inspector General; Capt. Frank Von Phul Aide-de-Camp; Major John S. Mellon Commissary, and Capt. Brinker Quartermaster.

There was another gentleman connected with headquarters who can never be forgotten. This was the Rev. Father John Bannon, who, to extend his field of usefulness, left a comfortable living and prosperous parish in [illegible] for the privations and discomforts [illegible] army life. He joined Gen. Price's command at Springfield, accompanied by Judge R. A. Bakewell and Bauduy Garessche. He became chaplain of Wade and Guibor's batteries, and in fact served in that capacity for [illegible] Price's army that was of [illegible] accompanied the army to the east side of the Mississippi, and by the invitation of Gen. Little was quartered with his staff and as member of the mess. Capt. Von Phul was the only officer of the staff that be[illegible] faith and church. Yet it can [illegible] in a religious sense, was [illegible] with him, and his [illegible] expressed the rude [illegible] Not that he objected [illegible] for he had the [illegible] genial nature, but he always frowned upon the soldiers' unre[illegible] He was physically large, handsome, dignified, refined and cultured. While [illegible] his bravery in the field in attending the [illegible] and dying in very exposed places. He was both a pious [illegible] minister [illegible] ing angel wherever broken and bruised humanity needed help and consolation.

On September 21, 1862, the battle of Iuka was fought between the forces of Gen. Price and Gen. Rosecrans. It occurred in the afternoon of that day and continued after it became dark. It was a bloody affair and a victory for the Confederates, who had possession of the entire battle-field. General Little here lost his life while directing the engagement. His forehead was pierced by a minute ball, and he dropped, a lifeless body, from his horse into the arms of an attendant. It is said soldiers sometimes have a premonition of death before a battle begins, and it is believed that he had an apprehension of that kind at Iuka. On the morning of the fight, he rebuked a Mississippi Colonel, who was standing near him, for some blasphemous expression, and did so in a manner unusual to him and noticeable. Soon after this occurrence he entered a deserted log cabin on the Boonville Road to establish his field headquarters, but left it at once upon seeing blood upon the floor, and it was observed at least by one person who accompanied him for the greater part of that day, that he was seemingly melancholy and unusually reticent, and when his death came so suddenly these matters with others were remembered at once. But it must be understood that when the moment came for action, he dashed up the slope of the hill then in possession of the Federals and drove them from it, the last act in the drama of his life. That night he was buried by torch light in the garden of a friend in the town of Iuka. General Price and other General officers, with sad hearts stood around the grave and witnessed the burial of their fellow soldier. Father Bannon made the oration and in a feeling manner spoke of the character and virtues of the dead General, not, as he said, in the capacity of a priest, for he was not of his church, but as a warm admirer and friend. The intense darkness of the night, the dim flame of the torches, the bowed and uncovered heads of the distinguished group of officers, and the touching words of the speaker, made an impressive and weird scene, that will remain in the memory of those who witnessed it.

Upon the death of General Little the command of the division devolved upon the ranking brigadier who was Gen. Louis Herbert, of Louisiana. He assumed it at once and at[illegible] J. G. Kelly to his staff. Captains

Schaumburg and Von Phul reported to Gen. Price. The position of Iuka was untenable and Gen. Price retreated in good order to Baldwin, with only one attempt at molestation, which was effectually resisted. After remaining at Baldwin a short time, the army was moved to Corinth, Generals Price and Van Dorn joining their forces for a big event at that place. The battle occurred there on the 3d and 4th days of October, 1862. The army approached the place by forced marches and on the first day, Gen. Price and his troops attacked and carried the first line or outer works. It was here that the gallant Lieut. Sam Farrington ,of Wade's Battery, was killed by a grape-shot fired from a Parrott gun called the "Lady Richardson," which was captured in a few moments afterward in the charge on the works. He was carried from the field by the ever vigilant and faithful Father Bannon, who selected a spot for the temporary interment of his remains. They were afterward removed by his relatives and placed in Bellfontaine. On October 4, the attack on the second or inner line of entrenchments was made. These works were fully manned by infantry, and in Ft. Robinot and the numerous redoubts along the line were placed heavy armaments of artillery. The ground in front of the works for a wide space was protected and covered by an abatis of forest trees felled in such a way that their sharpened limbs, with wire stretched between them in many places, would offer the greatest obstacle to an attacking force. At an early hour, the signal of attack was given by the opening roar of the Batteries of Landis, Guibor, and others. The troops had been lying on their arms all night in the expectation of the morrow, a condition more trying to the anxious soldier than battle itself. They advanced quickly for the assault, and over and through the exasperating abatis, in the teeth of that unmerciful rain of grape and minie balls with unflinching valor upon the works, captured them and drove out the Federals, a fleeing mass into the town of Corinth, following them as far as the Tishamingo Hotel. The Confederate line was so broken and wrecked in the charge that its condition was soon discovered by the enemy, who had re-formed on the rising ground beyond and without delay returned with their reserves in solid line and drove those who were a few moments before their conquerors over the captured works in full retreat. It was then, in passing back over the abatis, that the havoc and fearful carnage was observed which had taken place during the time of the grand charge—a spectacle unnoticed before in the exciting rush to carry the works. Dead men were seen in reaps, having fallen across one another at places where they were detained in struggling through the obstructions of the fallen timber. It had been a previous arrangement between the commanding Generals that Lovell's Division of Van Dorn's command should be held in readiness to support the troops making the attack and hold the ground taken until the broken lines were re-formed. Lovell failed to act the part assigned to him. His division was inactive during the fight and the battle was lost through his negligence or incompetency. His military career was soon after ended by a court martial that tried him. He was relieved of his command and retired to the obscurity he deserved, being unable to offer a tangible excuse for the crime he had committed.

The Brigade of our Gen. John S. Bowen belonged to Lovell's Division and therefore had no opportunity to distinguish itself during the fight, but upon the retreat it acted splendidly in covering the rear, The position of the vanquished army was very critical, with a superior force making attacks upon the rear, and in front upon the line of retreat a formidable force in possession of an important bridge. The appearance of Gen. Price at the stand made at the Hatchie Bridge is well remember d. Mounted on a large sorrel horse and dressed in a hunting shirt, with his bronzed and determined face shaded by a slouch hat, he made a picture of undaunted courage fit for the pencil of any artist. Colonels Sneed and Loughborough, his aide-de-camps, Col. Dick Morrison, and other members of his staff were with him. It looked as if Gen. Hurlburt had effectually barred any further retreat, as he held the bridge. It was, however, continued after a bitter fight, which gave time for the repairs of another bridge down stream, over which the army passed in safety.

The fight at Corinth was fearfully disastrous to the Missouri troops, as evidenced by the long list of killed, wounded and missing. The gallantry shown by them in making the assault on so formidable a fortification has never been excelled on any field. They unflinchingly [illegible]

[illegible] and were deprived of their victory [illegible] incompetency and criminal blunders of others.

The army retreated to Abbyville and rested [illegible], thence to Water Valley and finally to Grenada. Here it re-organized and was reviewed by Jefferson Davis, ex-Governor Trusten Polk, Gens. Price, Johnston, Pemberton, Loring, Dr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, and others. The Brigade of Gen. Hebert was ordered from Grenada on December 25, to take position on the right wing of Vickburg at Haine's Bluff. Gen. Bowen's Division was ordered to Port Gibson and Grand Gulf. Gen. Price had solicited and received orders from Richmond to take command of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He bade farewell at Grenada to the old soldiers he loved so well and re-crossed the Mississippi to the West, where he naturally belonged. The Brigade of Gen. Parsons had preceded him some time before from Tupelo. Col. James M. Loughborough of his staff, remained and took position on the staff of Gen. Moore, the Texan, and afterward with Gen. Frank M. Cockrell.

Gen. Grant's base of supplies at Holly Springs was captured with its vast stores by Gen. Van Dorn in a raid made from Grenada with a large mounted force composed of the most daring spirits of the army. All distinction in rank was discarded and laid aside for the time being. Every man recognized that the expedition had but one guiding spirit, one commander to whom they were subservient. It was a brilliantly conceived and well executed event that was wholly unlooked for by the Federals and cost their government millions of dollars. The plan of attack on Vicksburg in the rear was by that movement of Van Dorn changed. Gen. Grant was forced to to take the river route for his advance on that place. He endeavored to turn the right wing of Gen. Pemberton's army at Haine's Bluff and Chickasaw Bayou with a force composed of gunboats on the Yazoo river and a land force under Gen. Sherman, in which Gen. Frank P. Blair and Gov. Thos. C. Fletcher played a part, the latter being captured at Chickasaw Bayou. The portion of the ground here was so cut up with the tortuous course of the Bayou that the force under Sherman could not deploy properly, and hence was brought into action more in column than in line of battle. He found [illegible] Stephen D. Lee, who defended the place, occupied a position at the base of the bluffs in a ditch on the roadside that had been washed out by the rains. In that natural entrenchment, about eight hundred men were placed, whose line of fire on the open space in front actually swept the ground, mowing the willows in the bayou as if cut with the scythe. That, together with the fire of the field batteries from the top of the bluff, forced the Federals to retire permanently to their transports, after many vain, but gallant, attempts to make a lodgement. While the loss to the Confederates was not twenty in number, the Federals must have had in killed and wounded several hundreds. The feint at Haine's Bluff was merely to divert attention from the real place of attack upon the Bayou. Gen. Grant's next move against Vicksburg was an attempt to change the channel of the Mississippi by digging a canal opposite the place. His efforts to handle the "Father of Waters" proved so futile and insignificant that he had to abandon it after prodigious labor had been expended. He then ran the gauntlet by night, of the batteries commanding the river front of Vicksburg with his gunboats and transports, and marched his army down to Waterproof. He sent Admiral Porter with a fleet of gunboats to silence the batteries at Grand Gulf, so that he could cross the river and make a landing at that place. Porter after a furious bombardment and concentrated fire of six hours' duration, was unable to make an impression upon the works or silence its batteries, and had to withdraw and abandon the attempt. Wade's Battery and three siege guns defended the place, together with a portion of Gen. Bowen's Division. Admiral Porter, in his official report of this attack, called attention to the defense of Grand Gulf by saying that the batteries were fought and the place defended with a gallantry rarely witnessed. Capt. William Wade, the brave commander of the artillery, lost his life before the close of the engagement, his head being torn off by a shot from a gunboat. He was a gallant and genial soldier, for whose death deep regret was felt and expressed in the army and by his friends in St. Louis when the news of the sad event reached the city. Gen. Grant subsequently crossed his army at Bruinburg and fought the battles of Port Gibson, Champion Hills and Big Black, meeting at these points only portions of the Confederate army under Gen. Pemberton, who, in place of opposing the Federal Army

with his full force when it arrived on the east bank of the river, fought it with insufficient numbers, was, as a consequence, defeated in detail and driven into Vicksburg. The entrenchments there were poorly constructed, the parapets in the most cases being not more than waist-high. Consequently, the soldiers from the very start of the siege had to keep digging deeper for protection and build transverses to shield them from the enfilading fire of the enemy. The works extended too far and covered a larger territory than necessary —a great detriment, as it took all of what was left of Pemberton's army to occupy and defend them. During the whole of the forty-five days that the siege lasted, the half-starved soldiers were never relieved from their position in the works, but lay there in the broiling summer sun, ready to resist attack at any time. Not only were the fortifications imperfect, but also the necessary provision for the subsistence of the army had been overlooked and neglected. During the siege, the commissary stores were wholly inadequate to meet the wants of the troops. A large portion of the time, only quarter rations were issued and those were of a poor character.

The ability of Pemberton as a general and the strategy he displayed has often been discussed, and the pertinent question frequently asked why he allowed himself to be driven into Vicksburg and diverted from joining Gen. Joe Johnston with the remnant of his army, when he saw the drift of events following the defeats he sustained east of the Black river, and the knowledge he must have had of the inadequate supplies of all kinds stored in Vicksburg for a protracted siege. After the battle of Champion Hills, General Loring, with his division, severed himself from Pemberton and joined Johnson at Jackson. The force under Gen. Louis Hebert should have done the same thing by way of the Yazoo Valley from its station at Haine's Bluff but received orders on May 17 to march for the defense of Vicksburg. Gen. Johnston sent Pemberton this message of advice: "Better lose Vicksburg and save your army," but it did not reach him until it was too late and the investment of the place had begun. For the space of forty-five days, all attempts of Gen. Grant to subdue the place were ineffectual. He made two assaults upon the works which were repulsed with great loss, and during the entire time of the investment while advancing his parallels, he rained upon the beleagured city almost a constant shower of missiles from siege guns, mortars and small arms.

To those in command of the defense it became evident, on the forty-second day of the siege that a crisis had arrived and the condition of things that then existed could not last much longer. A council of Generals was called to consider the matter, resulting in the determination to surrender the place upon the best terms that could be had before the arrival of the national holiday, the Fourth of July. It was considered that, if delayed, a general on- [illegible] day, which the enfeebled garrison could not effectually withstand or resist, and in which would occur the unnecessary sacrifice of the [illegible] Army had gradually worked up their approaches so near that only a few feet separated the respective lines of the [illegible] Consequently, a column of reserved men would have had [illegible] to charge over those [illegible] the line, right and left particularly [illegible] July 4, with the wild enthusiasm it would engender. The slaughter that was sure to follow that movement was happily averted by the good sense of the commanding generals, one of whom was our own General Bowen, who, when the preliminaries for the surrender took place, on July 3, was selected to accompany General Pemberton and ride with him to meet General Grant, who awaited him near the Jackson road a short distance beyond the works. On July 4, the Federal troops marched in and took possession of Vicksburg. Their entry was made in the most unostentatious manner and without the least show of triumph. The defenders of the place were treated with great consideration by General Grant and liberally supplied with provisions, while waiting to be paroled. By the terms of the surrender, officers were allowed to retain their side arms and their horses also. Two places were designated as parole camps for the several commands [illegible] which they reached after weary [illegible] exchanged. [illegible] during the siege, there [illegible] either ridden or led [illegible]

[illegible] were nothing more than animated skeletons, with tightly drawn hides covering their [illegible] That they had any vitality to move at all was wonderful. During the whole [illegible] siege, and until the arrival of the [illegible] had nothing to eat but the bark of trees and small patches of cane that grew in the valleys, which, with the grasses on the hills were eaten, and being trampled over by the tread of moving feet, quickly disappeared altogether. A very entertaining book relative to this siege was written by a St. Louis lady, Mrs. James M. Loughborough, called "Cave Life in Vicksburg." She herself with her baby, occupied a cave in the hills during the whole siege.

The defense of Vicksburg will take rank with any of the memorable sieges in which the armies of the world in times past were engaged. Plevna, probably the most remarkable of any, considering the numbers engaged and loss of life, lasted forty-eight days—three days longer than that of Vicksburg. The opinion of General Grant regarding the defense of that place can but be shown by the following extract from a letter written by him in reply to Pemberton's note requesting an armistice to arrange terms of surrender. Both communications were delivered and received under flag of truce by our General Bowen. "The useless effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always [illegible] the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you will be treated with all the respect due to prisoners of war." This reply is taken from Charles A. Dana's "Reminiscences of the Siege." In it he also mentions the [illegible] there was no foundation for the apprehension [illegible] the Confederates that an assault upon the [illegible] would be made on July 4th. General Grant deeming it unnecessary to [illegible] human life to accomplish an event that was [illegible] to transpire in a very short time [illegible] of food and exhaustion of the garrison.

In the relating of some of the events from the surrender of Camp Jackson to the surrender of Vicksburg, the purpose was to refer only to the commands in which soldiers from this city were identified, and beyond what has been said, no attempt will be made to follow them further to their final surrender. After remaining in the camps of Enterprise and Demopolis for some time, the army was released from parole, and reorganized, and sent to the support of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who made a campaign in front of General Sherman's march on Atlanta that will be handed down and live in history as one of the most able and masterly military efforts that was ever performed by an army. Before leaving Demopolis, a re-organization of the artillery also became imperative, and from the remains of Guibor's, Wade's, and Landis' Batteries one was formed which retained the name of Guibor, as he was appointed Captain. The Lieutenants were: first, Richard Walsh, second, Edward McBride; third, A. W. Harris. With six Napoleon guns it was attached to Cockrell's Brigade, Polk's Division of Johnston's Army. At Kenesaw Mountain, Lawrence Murphy was elected first lieutenant and Samuel M. Kennard, second lieutenant of the Battery, in consequence of the death of one and the wounding of two officers under the concentrated fire of forty pieces of Sherman's artillery. Besides the loss of life already mentioned in Bowen's old regiment at the battle of Franklin, the death of three St. Louisians is remembered. Capt. Cunniff, and Lieutenants Marnell and Crow, of the Fifth Missouri, who were members of Capt. Joe Kelly's original company, were killed in the same fight and fell within twenty feet of each other.

It would be a great pleasure, if space allowed it, to follow the fortunes of the gallant men who left their homes in this city and State at large to fight for State rights in which they had been educated to believe as a doctrine of government. Many perished in the strife and many were spared to return into the localities they had left, to begin over again civil life, and by their industry and intelligence repair their own shattered fortunes, and also aid in building up a prosperous future for the city and State.

Major-General Sterling Price returned to this city broken in health and died in 1867 at the age of 59 years. His chief of staff, Colonel Thos. L. Snead, came back also to St. Louis, but finally made his home in New York. He was a lawyer by profession, and was a gallant and faithful officer, who understood the duties of his position and was a great acquisition to the army. He had all the

qualities and polished manners of a gentleman. He was most companionable and had a large fund of both knowledge and anecdote at his disposal to draw on, when occasion required it, to enliven his comrades and turn many a moment that otherwise would have been gloomy into one of pleasure. He wrote a book, which he called "The Fight for Missouri," a most impartial relation of facts connected with the stirring events of that time. To the future historian this work will be a valuable one, written as it is without prejudice. He died suddenly in New York and his remains were brought here and interred in Bellefontaine. Col. James M. Loughborough returned here and became identified with the Iron Mountain Railroad, then owned by the late Thomas Allen, to whom he was a great acquisition in the management of the Land Department. He was accidentally killed at Little Rock by the explosion of his shot-gun. General D. M. Frost also returned to his old home in this city. He was born near Schenectady, New York, in 1823, and is now, at the age of seventy-five, a well-preserved, soldierly looking man.

The following list contains many, but not all of the names of the Southern Veterans who returned to this city, with other names of soldiers who fought for the South and made their homes here and became identified with the material interests of the city after the war.

R. P. Annan, Patrick Ahearn, Ben Adler, Dr. R. C. Atkinson, Lewis D. Allen, Jr., James W. Allen, Alexander G. Anderson, William Bull, James Bannerman, F. P. Bronaugh, N. R. Black, C. P. Bayse, Wallace Butler, C. W. Branch, Dr. J. P. Bryson, M. Bernheimer, Thomas B. Blake, Joseph Boyce, W. P. Barlow, John Bull, R. A. Bakewell, O. W. Barrett, W. G. Blakey, Howard Brothers, Martin Burke, W. H. Biggs, William Barnett, Given Campbell, W. H. Clopton, David W. Caruth, W. L. Cassidy, Ed Cunningham, Jr., E. P. Creecy, Seth W. Cobb, George J. Chapman, Philip Chew, N. V. Cameron, D. N. Currie, Luther H. Conn, John J. Corkery, Frank Carter, Ward Childs, Frank Curtis, John Cumminskey, J. R. Daugherty, Joseph T. Donovan, Dr. H. C. Dalton, John N. Drummond, James N. Douglas, Eugene Donnelly, J. White Edwards, C. P. Ellerbe, J. F. Fortune, D. M. Frost, Henry Guibor, Frank Gaiennie, Samuel Gordon, P. B. Garesche, Michael Griffin, George H. Goddard, Edward Haren, James B. Hill, J. D. Holliday, Jerome Hill, R. R. Hutchinson, Ewing Hill, S. D. Hardaway, W. B. Harrison, G. A. Hayward, William F. Haines, Warwick Hough, B. Newton Hart, W. S. Havens, Claiborne B. Hunt, C. O. Hitchcock, Walter D. Jones, Lorraine F. Jones, F. N. Johnson, John G. Kelley, Samuel M. Kennard, L. D. Kingsland, W. Clark Kennerly, Joseph Kelly, [illegible] Louis T. Kretschmar, C. Leslie Kretschmar, White Kennett, Dr. J. A. Leavy, James M. Loughborough, F. X. LaBruyere, John A. Ladd, Robert McCulloch, Patrick Mulcahey, R. J. Medley, Gov. John S. Marmaduke, Dr. E. C. Michel, Edgar Miller, George J. Mook, Dr. J. J. Miller, J. R. Moseby, Dr. W. M. McPheeters, James H. McNamara, R. T. Morrison, A. W. Moise, John S. Mellon, Dr. S. Gratz Moses, Michael McMahon, John Meehan, Minor Meriwether, Dr. S. P. Nidelet, Dr. J. C. Nidelet, Frank Noel, John K. Newman, Dennis O'Brien, S. M. Phelan, W. M. Price, R. A. Pendleton, Celsus Price, James Peterson, R. M. Powell, Joseph C. Piggott, J. R. Purvis, E. C. Robbins, C. C. Rainwater, Dr. P. G. Robinson, Rev. P. G. Robert, Russell Riley, William Robinson, A. W. Stewart, A. C. Stewart, George H. Small, Dr. H. N. Spencer, E. H. Sublette, Dr. I. G. W. Steedman, Edgar Skinner, Robert H. Stockton, R. R. Southard, George W. Sale, Peter Saugrain, Thomas L. Sneed, Wright Schaumburg, Alonzo W. Slaybach, E. J. Styles, Peyton Skipworth, William Switzer, Ben Von Phul, Fred. Von Phul, L. B. Valliant, Dr. Charles Vastine, John Waddell, S. D. Winter, John W. Wray, Dr. William Webb, H. W. Williams, W. H. Weller, Hunt P. Wilson, Thos. H. West, Thomas Warren, and T. M. Wright.

It is sad to think of those who never did return, but died like men in fighting for and upholding a cause that was to them a sacred one. Among those gallant and chosen spirits were: John S. Bowen, Emmet McDonald, John M. Wimer, William Chappell, Sam Farrington, William Wade, Early Stein, Rock Champion, Churchill Clark, Wallace Hartley, James Fanning, Hugh A. Garland, Thomas [illegible] James George, Ed Blennerhass[illegible] Carrington, S. O. Coleman, [illegible] gers, George O'Flaherty, [illegible] Joseph Dean, Samuel Kennerly, Edward Murray, A. J. Byrne, Aubrey Howard, William Crow, A. B. Barnett, Peter L. Fitzwil-

[illegible], Edward Fagan, Lewis B. Beakey, Ser- [illegible] Shelley, and Girard A. Foote.

The foregoing statement of events must be [illegible] as the Confederate view of affairs in general, recording the effect of prejudices and animosities existing in this city at the opening of the civil war and afterward. Since then, the softening influence of time has removed both passion and prejudice, and at this day a rational view can be taken of the motives and methods used in solving the political problems which disturbed the country and upon the contending hosts can be bestowed the honor and praise due them for their valor and devotion to the cause they espoused and the principles that directed them. Probably there never has been a rebellion or revolution of the magnitude of our own, which left behind it as little bitterness of feeling between combatants. Whatever may be said of the politicians during the reconstruction days in which the "blody shirt" was waved, one assertion can be repeated without successful contradiction, that between the soldiers on both sides who went into the army and fought for their principles, there never has been anything but mutual regard and respect; and in our city, the Germans who were once thought so aggressive are now our intimate associates and friends, and few names hold a higher place in our regard as soldiers than those of Siegel, Osterhaus, and others of the same nationality, equally meritorious. To illustrate and put into practical operation the good fellowship and fraternity of the old soldiers of our city, a society has been formed of the "Veterans of the Blue and the Gray," whose annual meeting takes place on February 12th of each year, Lincoln's birthday. The preamble to their constitution contains these words: "The war has been over for a generation [illegible] which arose from it have been settled by the slow and sure processes of political, commercial and industrial evolution. Standing shoulder to shoulder, or front to front, in those times which tried American manhood, we gained the respect for each other's integrity and valor. We have since formed many ties and fought many peaceful battles together, binding us close as friends. Whatever our differences then, we are now all American patriots, with an abiding faith in the destiny of our country and a fervent love for her flag. Dead issues belong to impartial historians. To be true to our part we must stand for liberty, law and order, so that our beloved country may fulfill her mission in the world."

SAMUEL M. KENNARD.
JOHN G. KELLY,

Ware, Martha E., who has been [illegible] with many public interests in St. Louis since 1863, was born in New England, daughter of Joseph B. Young, and a descendant of Scotch and French ancestors. One branch of the family to which she belongs, has however been indentified with the history of New Hampshire for two hundred years, while the representatives of another branch of the family were numbered among the earliest Massachusetts Bay colonists. In her early childhood, Mrs. Ware entered a school in Boston and she was graduated in the first class which went out from the Roxbury High School. After that, she pursued a course of study at the Massachusetts State Normal School, and in 1850, became, first, assistant principal in a grammar school in New Haven, Connecticut, and later assistant principal in the West End school of Boston. Afterward, she was for two and a half years a teacher in the Massachusetts State Normal School, coming, at the end of that time, to St. Louis, where, for four years thereafter, she occupied a prominent position in the Normal School of this city, doing much to advance its standing among educational institutions of this city. In 1870 she founded a club of Mary Institute graduates for special study, and this club, which continued in existence for seven years, proved an incentive to the formation of other clubs of the same character which prosecuted their researches under the leadership of various professors in St. Louis. She was a charter member of the Wednesday Club and was its first treasurer, and for the first four years of its existence was chief manager of the Fresh Air Mission, funds for the maintainance of which were furnished by a committee of gentlemen. During the organization of the association which built the Martha Parsons Hospital and while that institution was in process of erection, Mrs. Ware was president of the Board of Trustees which had charge of the work of building up this institution, then known as the Augusta Free Hospital for Children. She also enjoys the distinction of having been the first lady Sunday-school superin-